

OCTOBER, 1951

# SOCIAL ORDER

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# SOCIAL ORDER

Vol. I

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No. 8

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Published monthly (except July and August) by the Institute of Social Order, 3655 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis 3, Mo. Subscription price, \$4.00 a year; single copies, 40c. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at St. Louis, Mo. SOCIAL ORDER registered U. S. Patent Office. Contents copyright, 1951, Institute of Social Order.

## ... just a few things:

SOME YEARS AGO IN HIS *A Testimonial to Grace*, Mr. Avery R. Dulles wrote: "The purposes of human government, I perceived, were dependent on the purposes of human life. The latter must be discovered before the former could be intelligently discussed." His article in this issue considers the thought of an extraordinary writer who had seen this truth clearly and who had recognized a definite consonance between the basic principles of American democracy and Catholic truth.

Orestes Brownson is a long-neglected thinker whose vast writings contain rich veins of truth as vital and contemporary today as it was when he wrote it a century ago for his own *Review*. Mr. Dulles, who is an instructor in philosophy at Fordham University, New York, became acquainted with the writings of Brownson during his years of philosophical studies at Woodstock College, Maryland. It is to be hoped that he will find time to do more writing on Brownson, notably about his later socio-economic writings.

THE ARTICLE ON socio-economic endeavors in Switzerland takes the form of recollections of an extended visit to Europe made by Father Richard McKeon in 1950. He was particularly impressed by the sane practicality of Swiss measures to overcome the limitations that nature has imposed upon their country, and he recommends a similar realism to all those who collaborate in our American economy.

FATHER THOMAS GILBY, a well-known English philosopher, not only finds little opposition to religion in the

current British experiment with socialism. He insists that much of its inspiration and drive comes from vestiges of Christianity still alive in the population. "To many of the men who are engineering present social policy," Father Gilby avers, "it comes easier to quote the Bible than the writings of Karl Marx."

THE PLIGHT OF THE MORE than 3,000,000 migratory farm workers in the United States has been a perennial problem. Serious efforts to relieve the situation have repeatedly been checked by the selfish intervention of strong groups of large-scale farmers and by the indifference of citizens generally. Father Bernard, who recently joined the staff of SOCIAL ORDER, reviews the situation in this issue.

The state of Minnesota, and particularly the town of Hollandale in that state, have been outstanding in adopting measures to improve conditions among migratory workers. State and local authorities carefully enforced all Federal and state legislation concerned with worker welfare, the community gave assistance in the form of financial aid and free schooling.

A report in the U. S. Department of Labor publication, *Labor Information Bulletin*, for August, 1951, states in conclusion: "The investigators . . . believe that what Hollandale is doing, and what its citizens plan to do, can be adopted to thousands of like communities throughout the Nation."

THE CRISIS OF WAR and foreign occupation had a salutary effect upon the relations of employers and employees in several countries of western Europe, in

particular, in the Netherlands and Belgium. I hope to print in an early issue an article about the *Foundation of Labor*, a labor-management association brought into being by the Dutch after World War II largely as the result of increased mutual understanding fostered in both groups by their underground activities against occupation authorities.

In this issue appears a survey of social measures undertaken in Belgium by industrial leaders. Not all these undertakings are new; some long antedate World War II. But in their present form they constitute a remarkably *comprehensive* system of social-security. That quality, rather than any unusual generosity of the individual provisions, constitutes their greatest value. The article, as the authors state, is based upon a report prepared by the *Fédération des Industries Belges*, called, *Réalisations Sociales dans l'Industrie Belge*. The article follows the 15 sections of the report.

PROFESSOR THOMAS NEILL, himself the author of several historical works, finds himself in agreement with the thesis of John Nef's work, that war cannot be entered on the credit side of civilization's account books, as Sombart, from a more limited point of view, had contended. The first article in the current (August, 1951) issue of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, "War, the Bankruptcy of Man," briefly reviews some of the

fearful cost in money, matériel, cities and above all, in human lives of World War II. It is not possible to summarize here the catalogue of devastation, but its magnitude suggests that even if Sombart's thesis had been true of earlier wars, the nature of modern totalitarian war is so radically different that there is no question of its immeasurable evil, even within the limited economic frame-of-reference Sombart adopted.

IN OUR NOVEMBER ISSUE we hope to return to the I.S.O. Forums, which were a feature of earlier issues of SOCIAL ORDER. If it can be arranged, the first Forum will consider some phase of the current question of public moral breakdown. In the same issue will appear Rev. Nicholas H. Rieman's long-awaited article, "A Theological View of the Jews;" a report by Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J., on the International Catholic Rural Life Conference, held this summer in Rome; a thoughtful review of David McCord Wright's *Capitalism* by Rev. Philip S. Land, S.J., and a factual article on low-income families in the United States.

TWO USEFUL PAMPHLETS on the race problem: Louis J. Twomey, *How to Think About Race Relations*, and Frank A. Riley, *Fifty Ways to Improve Race Relations*, can be secured from the Queen's Work, 3115 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 18, Mo., for ten cents each. F.J.C., S.J.



*Orestes Brownson, the celebrated nineteenth-century American philosopher, saw Catholicism as the only religion compatible with American democracy.*

# CATHOLICISM AND DEMOCRACY

## *Theological Implications of the American Experiment*

Avery R. Dulles, S.J.  
Fordham University

THE ERRONEOUS views of Catholicism and its role in a free society, recently presented by Paul Blanchard, among others, seem to many readers searching and novel. Actually, however, they are little more than a revival of prejudices widely current among certain groups in the nineteenth century. The shallowness of those prejudices was effectively exposed at the time by the convert journalist, Orestes Brownson. In framing his reply to the Nativists and Know-Nothings, Brownson expounded a positive philosophy of government which is of interest today for its depth and originality as well as for its relevance to contemporary controversies.

Brownson's thought might be better known today had he been closely identified with any definite group or tradition. But he rarely worked in harmony with others. A gruff and outspoken Vermonter, he had nothing of the diplomat in his make-up. If anything, his taste and talent for controversy led him to exaggerate his differences with his adversaries. Having been for 20 years a socialistically inclined Protestant minister, he later, as a Catholic layman, bent every effort to refute the errors which he had abjured. He never disguised his contempt for Protestant sects or his detestation for the new secular spirit which, in his opinion, was rapidly paganizing the nation.

Instead of appealing to the patriotic or humanitarian sympathies of his readers, he unashamedly professed that his first loyalty was to the kingdom of heaven. He would have considered it an indignity to defend Catholic principles merely on the ground of their utility to civil society.

### **Voluminous Writer**

Brownson's career of Catholic journalism extends over the thirty years from 1844, when he was received into the Church, until 1874, two years before his death. During this period, in addition to writing half a dozen books, he filled more than twenty volumes of *Brownson's Quarterly Review* with his personal comments on nearly all the burning religious, philosophical, social and literary questions of the day. He did valiant service in alerting his Catholic readers to the age's tendencies and in pointing out how they could best meet the challenge of recrudescing paganism. No problem, perhaps, had greater appeal to his practical and restless mind than did the complex issues of Church and State, of Catholicity and republican government. Here his learning, logic and eloquence appear to the greatest advantage.

If Brownson had believed that Catholicism was naturally affiliated with absolute government, he would not have hesitated to say so. If he had believed

that American institutions were hostile to the best interests of the Church, he would have condemned Americanism in the boldest terms. But his study of political philosophy led him to the very opposite conclusion. He was persuaded that the true genius of American institutions was neither pagan nor sectarian, but specifically Catholic.

In answer to the Nativists, therefore, he was not content to prove that Catholic loyalty could be reconciled with sincere Americanism. He insisted that the Catholic view of man and the universe was the one indispensable support on which our national life depended. To the extent that the deposit of revealed doctrine was forgotten or obscured, he believed, our patriotic heritage was bound to disintegrate. Paradoxical as this thesis may sound to some, Brownson defended it with arguments of great solidity. It is therefore enlightening to reconsider, in the perspective of a century, his opinions on the relations of Catholicism to political freedom, on the union of Church and State, and on the theological implications of the American experiment.

### Favored Democracy

Impregnated with a robust New England individualism, Brownson had a deep-seated aversion for political absolutism in every form. Upon his conversion to the Faith, he readily perceived that the State, in Catholic philosophy, has no rightful jurisdiction over the minds and souls of men. On the strength of this conviction, he never ceased to bewail the tendency of many Catholics in his own day to identify the Church with the cause of autocratic government. Commenting on contemporary developments in France, he sympathized with the popular republicanism of Lacordaire and Montalembert, and lamented the growing influence of Louis Veuillot, whom he branded as a dangerous reactionary. "For seven years," he boasted in 1862, "we stood alone in this country, and

almost alone in the world, among Catholic publicists in warning Catholics against any entangling alliance with the new-fangled Caesarism of Napoleon III." (*Works*, 20, 254)

However short-sighted might be the policy of Catholics, and even of the Roman curia, in supporting authoritarian governments in Europe, Brownson felt confident in assuring his readers that "the Church is not and cannot be committed to the cause of despotism. Catholicity itself is still, as ever, the friend and support of all true and desirable liberty." (18, 439)

Autocratically-minded Catholics, he went on to observe, fall into precisely the same error as their sworn enemies, the red republicans. Both groups are unaware that religion is the sole defense of genuine liberty and the firmest friend of progress. "True wisdom," he declared, "demands the conciliation of religion and liberty, so that there shall never be imposed on anyone the terrible alternative of choosing between them or of sacrificing the one to the other." (18, 441)

### Rights Above State

Impatient though he was of personal tyranny, Brownson was not less apprehensive of popular absolutism. "Democratic caesarism," he warned, was "the dominant tendency of the age." (13, 222) A society in which all human rights were regarded as subject to governmental control was by definition an absolutist society, whether the administration was in the hands of a single tyrant or of the populace at large. Indeed, as Brownson had learned, in his early years as a disciple of Calhoun, that the tyranny of the majority is often the most fearful of all tyrannies. The just interests of minorities could be secure only in a republic which faithfully recognized the existence of fundamental human rights of a non-political order, lying beyond the scope of positive legislation. If the rights of man could be altered by the State, they

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were not genuine rights but mere concessions, and every individual was, in the last analysis, subject to the whims of his equals.

The sole effective guarantee against State absolutism, then, was a political system which acknowledged the sacredness of natural rights. The great merit of the American system, to Brownson's mind, consisted in the fact that the State openly confessed her own incompetence to infringe the natural law or to meddle in spiritual matters. She existed not as an end in herself, but to secure to each individual his God-given rights to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of that physical, intellectual and moral perfection becoming to his nature.

### State Not Supreme

The secular power, according to Brownson, was by its very essence subordinate to the spiritual. It could not be properly defined or understood except in terms of a sacred and transcendent order which it was destined to subserve. The purpose of the State was to enable individuals and families to exploit the resources of the earth, to exercise freedom of conscience and of action and to develop themselves as social and spiritual beings. These personal rights, in turn, were inviolable only because rooted in a divinely constituted economy. The preservation of private liberties in any nation depended on a constant recognition of the primacy of the spiritual over the temporal. Once the secular order was regarded as supreme or as independent of religious norms, the rights of man were gravely endangered.

Since natural rights cannot long stand unless supported by religious convictions, it followed as an immediate corollary in Brownson's system that there must be present in any sound society a guide and educator of consciences existing in its own right, independent of State control. Where the State recognizes the autonomy of the spiritual power, there exists, at least in

principle, what Brownson characterized as a "union" of Church and State.

### Union Not Establishment

Union of Church and State, therefore, in Brownson's terminology, is not synonymous with "establishment." Establishment, he declared in his brilliant article on *The Papacy and the Republic* (13, 326-351), is essentially a perversion of right order, for the very term implies that the Church is a mere creature of the State and its ministers a branch of the national police. Ecclesiastical establishment, he protested, is a Protestant conception, repugnant to Catholic principles. Confessional States were first erected in England and Germany in the early years of the Reformation, and presently existed in their most perfect form in the Lutheran countries of Scandinavia. Wherever Catholic countries, in an effort to withstand the assaults of organized heresy, had attempted to bolster the Church with legal pains and penalties, the results had been in the long run detrimental to the Church herself. In Catholic as in Protestant countries, such experiments had left the Church prostrate at the feet of the temporal power.

A true union of Church and State, without absorption of the one into the other, had, in Brownson's opinion, never been successfully achieved in Europe. The Roman emperors had inherited from paganism the belief that they were supreme in spiritual, as well as in temporal, affairs, and proceeded to patronize the Church in much the same way as they had previously dragooned the State religions in their own interests. During the Middle Ages, on the contrary, the Church had been obliged to involve herself unduly in matters of civil government in order to guide and enlighten the barbaric laity. Since the Reformation, the European nations had oscillated between the extremes of Erastianism and secularism.

The system of concordats was not

a permanent solution but merely a temporary expedient. It was an attempt to obtain by contract those ecclesiastical liberties which the absolute monarchs refused to concede as a matter of right. In every nation of nineteenth-century Europe, Brownson concluded, the Church was either held in subjection or was treated as an enemy of the State.

### Spiritual Autonomus

In comparison with the European systems, the American constitution, in Brownson's judgment, was a decided improvement in theory and in practice. The Founding Fathers, by their insistence on the distinction of the two powers, had forcefully repudiated the Protestant notion of establishment. They did not, however, plunge into the opposite error of secularism. They acknowledged that religion is independent of the State and superior to it. Although the rights of the Church are not explicitly mentioned in the Constitution, the whole frame of government involves an implicit recognition of the autonomy of the spiritual power.

As a result of this settlement, the Catholic Church in the United States, according to Brownson, enjoys greater freedom and security than in any European nation since the Reformation. She is protected with respect to the persons of her ministers and her temporal holdings. She is unhampered in the exercise of her teaching, discipline and worship. In the selection of bishops and in matters of ecclesiastical administration she is not obliged to seek any *placet* from the secular arm. The decisions of canonical courts in religious cases are recognized as binding and decisions made according to canon law are not subject to review or reversal by the civil courts. In these and in many other matters, the American system successfully harmonizes the just interests of Church and State and represents a union, without confusion, of the two societies. (13, 330 ff.)

### System Has Defects

Of course there are certain defects in the American solution, but most of these, Brownson observed, are inherent in the nature of any State where different Churches in fact co-exist. The government is bound to protect equally the various sects recognized by the citizens, and this, while a theoretical deficiency, is all that the Church exacts or expects in a divided society such as our own. A more serious blemish on the American policy is the fact that civil authority in this country usurps the functions of the Church in some very grave matters, particularly in assuming control of marriage and education (13, 278). This control, however, has not been traditionally exercised without regard for Christian principles and might be gradually corrected as Americans became progressively more aware of the Catholic implications of their fundamental law. Indeed, the American people could not be expected to administer the Constitution with full discretion until they became converted to Catholicism. (13, 177)

That the Constitution should have been drafted in such extraordinary harmony with the political doctrines taught by the Catholic Church was not, in Brownson's opinion, a matter of mere chance. The singular excellence of the American system was, for him, an evident sign that God had entrusted this nation with a providential mission to bring national life into consonance with our lofty frame of government. America had a "manifest destiny" to realize, for herself and all the world, the ideal of a Christian commonwealth. (11, 580; 18, 217)

### Saw Catholic Origins

The intellectual traditions out of which the American system had grown, Brownson shrewdly observed, were not sectarian but thoroughly Catholic. The Puritans, oppressed by the King and Parliament of Protestant England, had

invoked on their own behalf the ancient Catholic principle that the State had no right to invade the province of religion. (13, 217) The notions of human rights and the natural law, which were the basis of American revolutionary doctrine, had been expounded for the first time in coherent form by the Catholic philosophers of the early Middle Ages. The whole tenor of Protestantism was in open conflict with any such principles. What place could "natural rights" hold in a theology which taught the total depravity of human nature? Where could "natural law" fit into a religion which divorced morality from reason and which placed the whole of man's justification in a blind and unmotivated act of faith?

The history of the United States, in Brownson's eyes, might be viewed as a prolonged struggle between the Catholic principles implicit in our Constitution and the tendencies of evangelical Protestantism. "Either Protestantism," he once declared, "must get the upper hand and eliminate the American system, or the American system must get the upper hand and eliminate Protestantism." (11, 570) Far from enriching our national life, Protestantism had been busily at work for several centuries in seeking to undermine man's belief in the existence and accessibility of any natural law. In so doing Protestants were unconsciously whittling away the foundations of our social and political life and indeed of all morality and religious faith.

### Fostered Indifference

In his own day, Brownson saw Protestant orthodoxy losing its hold on the people and degenerating into a mere sentimentalism which left its adherents destitute of faith and reason alike. The forces of history had driven the Protestant principle of private judgment to its logical conclusion, beyond the expectations and wishes of many Protestants themselves. Heresy, in going to seed, was germinating an abundant

crop of moral subjectivism and religious indifferentism.

Looking about him, Brownson sensed a new spirit—frankly pragmatic and anti-Christian—abroad in the land. As he pointed out in various essays on education and the family, the time-honored conventions of domestic society were being brazenly challenged. Private virtue was everywhere declining, with disastrous repercussions in the sphere of public morals. "There has been a sad falling-off in the virtue, the honesty, the integrity, the chastity, and public spirit of our people in the last fifty years," he lamented in 1871; "the old habits formed under Catholic discipline and influences are wearing out, if not worn out." (13, 323)

The accepted norms which had sustained our national life, according to Brownson, are those which had sprung from Catholic civilization and had been, habitually at least, retained by the Protestant Reformers. In the article on *The Papacy and the Republic* to which reference has already been made, he cites numerous instances in support of this contention. He declares that the English common law, the great conservative element in our judicial system, is a heritage from Catholic times and that Catholic conceptions of marriage and family life, as well as of private morality, continued to hold sway, even in Protestant circles, more than two centuries after the Reformation.

### All Norms Lost

But with the dissolution of orthodox Protestantism the very foundations of our social life were being seriously threatened. There no longer existed any acknowledged moral authority to interpret the extent of man's natural rights and duties. As a result, the social fabric seemed to be falling apart. A clash of opinion as to the justice of slavery, he maintained, was largely responsible for the Civil War. In the years of recovery the country was being torn by an absurd dissension about



the morality of alcoholic beverages. A far more serious matter, the whole status of family life was being called into question. Who, under present conditions, was to determine whether marriage should be treated by the law of the land as a casual contract or, according to Catholic precedent, as a *res semper sacra*? On what principle, if any, could the civil authority continue to discountenance frivolous divorces and remarriages? How long would adultery continue to be a punishable offense? Were practices such as foeticide and contraception to be sanctioned by the positive law?

In brief, Brownson concluded, the natural rights which the State existed to protect were being rapidly obscured. From year to year, there were continually fewer checks upon the arbitrary and unjust prescriptions of majority rule. If, as seemed to be indicated, the spirit of our laws should cease to be in accord with Christian ethics, the United States would fail in her providential mission, and our national greatness would soon be at an end.

The opinion that public education might provide an adequate recuperative force impressed Brownson as foolishly shallow. The schools, as was evident, could not inculcate principles higher than those held by the teachers as individual persons. And even if the schools were to discharge their duty perfectly, it would still remain true that children are predominantly formed by the whole tone of the society in which they live. "Education, then, is not, and cannot be, the remedy, nor supply it. In a country like ours, almost completely secularized, the reliance must be on the missionary rather than the schoolmaster." (13, 345)

### Role of Church

In this grave national crisis it was conspicuously clear that religion alone could provide the needed spiritual enlightenment. No hope, however, could be placed in Protestantism. The sects,

Brownson contended, could not resist the general downward trend without violence to their own subjectivistic principles. There was only one voice in the land which could authoritatively teach the content of the natural law on which all political life was predicated. The Catholic Church alone was in vital communion with the font of Truth. Yet more important, she alone had access to the supernatural power of which men stood in need if, having once learned their moral obligations, they were to act accordingly.

In thus describing the role of the Catholic Church in American society, Brownson was merely making a special application of his general philosophy of religion as explained in his autobiography, *The Convert*. The central intuition which led to his conversion and which underlies nearly every facet of his thought is that human institutions, to be vital and healthy, need to be informed by a divine principle. Progress is the law of life; when a being ceases to progress, it dies. But progress implies communion with a higher principle, since nothing can elevate itself by its own unaided power. Human society, therefore, cannot be truly progressive unless it be in communion with the divine. Union between man and God, however, can be achieved only through Christ, the God-man, and through the Church in which He continues on earth His theandric life. From the history of art and literature, of morals and of philosophy, Brownson drew one and the same lesson: that human nature cannot duly perfect itself in any line of endeavor except under the aegis of the supernatural.

### State Needs Church

The socio-political order was no exception to this general law. The Catholic Church is to civil society what the soul is to the body. As the *forma civitatis*, she is truly distinct from the body politic, but by no means separable from it. She is the animating force

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in the absence of which any civilization is foredoomed to perish and dissolve. (13, 264)

The leaven of Catholicism, Brownson believed, is essential to any vigorous society, but especially in a republic, where long-standing traditions can be readily overturned by popular consent and decree. "Without the Catholic Church as the Church of the people, to supply the power which the Constitution presupposes or needs to secure its practical efficiency, [republicanism] is, as our American experiment is proving, an impractical government." (13, 345) In writing these words in 1873 near the end of his life, Brownson was merely reiterating the central theme of an article entitled *Catholicism Necessary to Sustain Popular Liberty*, which he had published, on the morrow of his conversion, in 1845.

When he undertakes to demonstrate that well-ordered society depends on the influence of the Catholic Church as an essential prerequisite, Brownson's style, always argumentative, assumes almost strictly syllogistic form. Every civilized society, he explains, must be one having institutions which conform to the moral law. But the natural moral law is merely an aspect of the divine law and derives its binding force from the will of God. In most practical matters, however, the will of God cannot be clearly and certainly known by the multitude of men except through the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church. Where the Church is deprived of influence, the principles of the natural law are quickly forgotten.

Now as all laws, as all rights, are spiritual, or divine, and all their vigor as laws is derived from the spiritual order, only a spiritual court, or representative of the divine order, is competent to judge of them, define, declare and apply them to the practical questions as they come up in individual or social life. This representative of the divine order on earth is the Church instituted by God Himself to maintain His law in the government of men and nations. (13, 329)

### Paganism Great Threat

To the Catholics of his day, Brownson issued a ringing challenge in words which, if they verge on rhetorical exaggeration, contain a nucleus of solid truth both for his generation and for our own. "The salvation of the country and its future glory depend upon Catholics," he proclaimed, "and therefore they must prove themselves superior . . . in all the civic virtues to non-Catholics, else they will do nothing to save and develop American civilization." (11, 576) If the children of light, he elsewhere asserted, are selfish and inert, our land will probably be engulfed in a tide of secularism and be "turned into hell [with] all the nations that forget God." (13, 350)

If, on the other hand, Catholics are generous and loyal to their duty, our country may well be saved from the menace of resurgent paganism. America may be expected to survive the present period of transition and rise to a unique position of moral leadership among the nations. So magnetic, he ventured to hope, would be the attractive force of our example, that future years might see not merely the United States, but "the whole continent coming under one system, forming one grand nation, a really Catholic nation, great, glorious and free." (18, 222) On this sanguine note he concluded his political masterpiece, *The American Republic*.

In the throes of these conflicting influences, which way would the United States ultimately turn? Would the balances tip toward license and moral decay or toward a renewal of Christian intelligence and liberty under law? Brownson often asked himself these questions, and his answers seem to have fluctuated with alternating moods of hope and despondency. His dominant impression, however, was somber rather than bright, and is perhaps most aptly summarized in the following prophetic utterance:

We fear that the tendencies now at work in our people will carry them so far—licentiousness and corruption of all sorts, in public and private life, will become so universal—before the salutary influences of the Church can be brought to bear on them with requisite power, that they will be visited by Almighty God in judgment rather than in mercy. We fear also that they are more likely to carry away with them a large proportion of our Catholic population, than this population is to restrain them; we fear that even the salt which should save them will lose its savor, and we tremble hardly less for our Catholic than for our non-Catholic population. But it is always better to take counsel of our hopes than of our gloomy forebodings, which, after all, may spring from the ill-health under the depression of which we are forced to write. (14, 576)

If Brownson were alive today, he might have reason to feel that, with the continued breakdown of the Christian family and the progress of organized crime, many of his "gloomy forebodings" had already been realized. One wonders whether he would find compensating gains. Would he be satisfied that Catholics were waking up to their civic responsibilities rather than being passively "carried away" in the general decline? Would he discern in our national culture sufficient resources of mind and spirit for us still to fulfil the religious destiny to which he believed American Catholics were called, and to rise to a place of Christian leadership among the nations of the earth?

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### Roads to Social Change

What is the "best" solution for the problems of inter-group relations?

Certainly there is no simple answer, nor even a single one. Nor is there a permanent one. Too much depends upon the temperament of the individual and upon the values to which one is attached. Those who prize homogeneity will give one answer, while those who prize heterogeneity will give another. There are patient individuals who take a long view, and there are restless ones to whom time is the very essence of the problem. Those who exalt the unity of the state will differ from those whose concern is for human personality and individuality. Those who long for assimilation and integration will disagree with those who are interested in preserving traditions and values which they hold dear. There are those to whom peace is priceless, and others who find conflict exhilarating, or at least preferable to discrimination.

There are good reasons for believing, however, that whatever be one's disposition, and whatever be his goal, the prospects for a happy solution of race problems are best in a society in which democratic ideals flourish, and in which social change is accomplished by the democratic processes of free discussion and free expressions of opinion.

BREWTON BERRY



*The director of the Lemoine College School of Industrial Relations recalls experiences in Switzerland that are of value to American management and labor.*

## DEMOCRACY: SWISS MODEL

### *Canny Solutions to Thorny Economic Problems*

Richard M. McKeon, S.J.

LeMoyne College, Syracuse, N. Y.

RECENT REPORTS from Switzerland stress two most important problems: first, the necessity of food for her people and raw materials for her factories and secondly, the military defense of the nation. The situation has grown more acute in view of the international crisis. In America there are long delays and discussions in regard to our defense program and complaints from the citizens at heavy taxation plus the anger of all at frequent scandals connected with the program. In Switzerland without complaint and with full realization of efficient preparedness one-third of the national budget will be spent on defense.

During a visit to Switzerland in the summer of 1950 I had many opportunities to learn about these problems and others which affect the national economy. Prominent authorities were most kind in offering valuable information. Since my return I have read considerably about this fascinating country and from the matter covered and from personal observations I dared to prepare a public lecture from which this article springs.

#### **Modern Industrial Growth**

To most Americans Switzerland means the Alps and little more. For the snow-covered mountains with their glaciers and waterfalls, together with the deep blue lakes of the valleys, have been pictured before us since early school days. About 100 years ago the

nation's economy was almost entirely agricultural. Today her factories give employment to nearly fifty per cent of the workers. Her people number about 4,645,000 in an area of 16,000 odd square miles. In the making of her famous watches some 50,000 skilled artisans are engaged. Brown, Boveri and Company, builders of heavy electrical equipment and employing 8,000 workers, can compete with the largest American concerns as a recent installation in Cleveland bears witness.

The amazing fact of this highly industrialized nation is that practically all raw material is imported. Then it has to be processed and the finished product sent to the markets of the world to compete with products of nations heavily endowed with natural resources. All this is done successfully, and the answer seems to be excellent skills handed down from father to son, longer hours of work and a full consciousness of material limitations. It pleased me to learn that this last important economic fact is taught to the children as soon as possible. Here is also one reason for many years of industrial peace. Mature workers realize that a long strike would seriously disrupt the economy. Both labor unions and employers have agreed to settle their difficulties without resort to strikes and lockouts.

#### **Economic Realism**

American workers like the forty hour

week with its overtime provisions. Our working week was shortened to spread employment during the years of depression. Proposals for a 35 hour week are sleeping under the present defense boom. But the Swiss are not afraid of hard and long work. They are all convinced that the 48 hour week is absolutely necessary if their industries are to survive in maintaining foreign trade markets. The continual worldwide demand for their high quality products has strengthened the acceptance of the present policy.

The Swiss have followed the trend of industry-wide collective bargaining in the United States. But they do not choose to imitate us. They fear the abuse of power concentrated in the hands of a few leaders either in labor or in management. Accordingly, while the officials of the Trade Union Congress may send out general directives, the final bargaining agreement is a matter for the local union and industry to settle. Moreover there are labor-management committees on the local, regional and national level to aid in the proper functioning of the agreement. I did not discover any movement for special cooperation in increasing production and lowering of costs similar to the Scanlon Plan which is spreading in our industry. Likewise there was no indication of a movement for co-determination which I ran into in Western Germany and which has come to pass recently in the coal and steel industry there.

Switzerland is indeed landlocked and jokes still prevail about the Swiss navy. However a certain correction is in order. From Rotterdam up the Rhine to Basel come a constant fleet of river barges bringing 2,000,000 tons of imports a year. In return Swiss exports go down to the Netherlands and out to the seven seas.

#### **Mature Social Security System**

We Americans have been priding ourselves on the extent of our social security system. But the Swiss are far

ahead of us. They are 100 per cent covered. It would pay our officials in Washington to study the Swiss old-age and survivors pension plan. Under the plan approved by a vast majority in the referendum of 1946 every man at the age of 65, every woman at the age of sixty, and widows and orphans upon the death of husband or father will receive a certain pension. Granted that the pension may seem modest, it is well to note the fact that the Swiss extend their social security through private insurance companies and the so-called friendly societies. In no other nation of the world do the citizens carry so much life insurance.

In studying the Swiss constitution there is a tradition of restriction of federal powers. This tradition is further strengthened by the use of the referendum and initiative. Many thinking Americans fear the growing centralization of power in the federal government, and rightly so. The Swiss not only fear such a trend, but they act promptly to check it. Although the Socialists form the strongest political party, they have been unable to put through legislation like that of the Labor Party in Britain. The trend to local instead of industry-wide bargaining on the part of the trade unions has been noted. Likewise the idea of decentralization is had in social security which is not administered by the federal government but by the 22 cantons, or states.

#### **Private Security Programs**

Moreover unemployment insurance is secured through private organizations. In most industries covered both workers and employers contribute to such a fund. Again the Swiss are deeply interested in the health of all citizens. But they reject the principle that all medical care should be provided through the offices of the federal government. What is their solution? Health insurance through the friendly societies. Swiss labor unions support this type of in-

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surance. In the United States many unions are favoring a program of national health insurance. Fighting this proposal is the American Medical Association with its million dollar advertising campaign against socialized medicine. No doubt it would be wiser for all parties to call a truce and to send representatives over to Switzerland to study its successful program.

During my visit there was concern over the international crisis. Accordingly a quiet move to store up food-stuffs and to secure raw materials for stockpiles was begun. Switzerland has to import a great deal of her food from France, Italy and Germany. Wheat alone will run into millions of bushels. It is simply a matter of strict prudence for the citizens to hoard a fair sufficiency for any emergency. The same is true for the wood, coal, chemicals, metals and other imports essential for industry.

### Defense Measures

After the breath-taking scenery along the Gotthard Pass it was a restful change to behold the blue waters of Lake Lucerne and the charming countryside. On the west side of the lower lake is Rutli and the William Tell territory where Swiss independence came to pass in 1291. Later on my friends told me about the German threat to invade Switzerland during the recent war. It was at Rutli in July, 1940, that the beloved General Henri Guisan summoned his ranking officers and reminded them of the great tradition of Swiss independence. He rallied their spirit and then sent them back to bolster up the army then under total mobilization. Having witnessed the fall of France it was a tense moment for all. Why did not the Germans attack? I was told that Hitler was finally persuaded by his staff that the price would have been too great: at least 500,000 casualties.

Today the Swiss are more determined than ever to keep their neutrality. Every citizen between twenty and sixty years

of age is a soldier. Training is carried on all year long. Total mobilization would see about 750,000 well-trained and armed men ready for action within a very short time. It is worthwhile for Americans to note that in addition to his ordinary army pay the Swiss soldier receives eighty per cent of his former civilian wages. This excellent morale tonic was enacted during the war by a two per cent tax on the wages of civilian workers and by a like tax on the employers. One need not expand upon other features of the defense program which finds every sector of this mountainous terrain plotted. The main point is their united determination of the Swiss to survive.

### Visits I. L. O.

In Geneva I had the privilege of visiting the headquarters of the International Labor Organization, housed in a magnificent building close to the shore of Lake Lemman. For my guide I was fortunate in having Father Albert Le Roy, S.J., an eminent authority on industrial problems, who has been associated with the I.L.O. for many years. As we mounted the main staircase he took deep pride in pointing out and explaining the great mural painting, "The Dignity of Labor" by Maurice Denis, a French artist. The central figure is Christ, the Carpenter of Nazareth, and He is speaking to the workers of ancient Galilee as well as to the artisans of today. The purpose of the striking painting is very clear, namely, that only in the words of Christ, in His principles, will be found the solution to the problems of industry.

The I.L.O. is concerned with the welfare of working people throughout the world. It avoids politics. While social and economic injustice lasts, its work will continue. It is an instrument for more stable peace for its members have recognized "that the well-being, physical, moral, and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance."

The I.L.O. is not an exclusively labor group. There are representatives from employers and member governments. In a marked degree the I.L.O. is a manifestation of the principles of industrial councils on an international scale. Its record of constructive achievement should compel inquiry into the necessity of similar cooperation in each industry on the local, regional and national level. In the words of the director general, David A. Morse, here "is a forum which has as one of its obligations the review of questions of labor and social policy, a review which represents the synthesis of experience and wisdom drawn from all parts of the world."

### Undemocratic Law

In Fribourg it was my privilege to visit St. Michael's Church where rests the body of St. Peter Canisius. He had taught in the Jesuit college for seventeen years. Today this great man of God would not be allowed to hold forth, for the Jesuits are still outlawed by the national constitution of 1848. The suppression of the order at that time was a victory for the radical liberalism in power. In the revised constitution of 1874 the suppression continued in force together with other restrictive measures against the Catholic Church.

Evidently I had broken the law for I had just given a lecture before the Columbia Society of the University of Fribourg. A short time before Father Lombardi, the famous Italian Jesuit orator, must have been refused permission to speak, for I had read his statement that he was free to talk anywhere in the world except in Russia and in Switzerland. Inquiring from my friends why the Swiss took such pride in boasting about democracy and liberty while allowing this injustice to exist, I was told that it was very hard to secure a change in the constitution and that the best procedure was for

outside influence, but not ecclesiastical, to request that legal freedom be again granted to the Jesuits. Perhaps the United Nations may add this to their agenda.

The University of Fribourg is a stronghold of Catholic education. Its students come from many nations and there is a constant increase in the number from America. Here is also the International Institute of Social and Political Sciences. In visiting the modern printing plant run by the Little Sisters of Saint Paul where there is published by them a daily Catholic newspaper, *La Liberté*, I felt deeply ashamed that there was not a similar influential newspaper in the United States. Publications in six languages, including Celtic, come from the press of these zealous apostles.

Swiss democracy even penetrates into church circles. One will look in vain for an archbishop, but he will find seven Catholic bishops.

Are the Swiss too smug? One hears this accusation. Certainly one cannot find fault with their determination to remain free from war. They know that they depend on other nations for raw material and a great part of their food. Again the Swiss franc is the best currency in Europe. Most European nations received assistance in rebuilding their economy through the Marshall Plan. Switzerland asked for nothing. One secret of her strong economy is the stability of her great middle class. Few Swiss are extremely rich and you will search in vain for many paupers. Keenly alert to government action, they know they have a close check through the referendum.

The Marshall Plan has arranged for some thousands of European representatives from labor and management to visit America to study our industry and way of life. We believe that an interchange of similar teams between Switzerland and ourselves would be of great profit to all concerned.

*Many of the ideals and much of the momentum in the present Socialist government of England derive from ancient traditions of Christian faith and life.*

# RELIGION AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

## *Influence on the Present British Experiment*

Thomas Gilby, O. P.  
Blackfriars, Oxford

THE RUSSIAN PARTY LINE for scientists affirms that by strengthening the forces of environment certain characteristics can be introduced into living cells which henceforth will reproduce and propagate them. This may or may not be true of Siberian wheat, and whether the stock of Soviet conditioning will succeed in changing the stubborn old stock of human nature so as to produce a new species, of Communist man, is even more to be doubted. Still it is a truism of social psychology and history that political qualities can be acquired and transmitted. Britain is a case in point: for a thousand years it was an integral part of Latin Christendom and thereby gathered habits of thought and action which have persisted during four centuries of partial separation and still strongly operate even in the secular policies of the Welfare State.

This term is ambiguous, as are so many phrases in political journalism; it can be used for anything from planning to make the decencies of life available for everybody, to the extreme doctrine that there is no life but the present one, and that all interests must be suppressed that seem to impede the working of a system in which the State is the sole—and, it is hoped—benevolent owner, while human persons are its employees and pensioners. Certainly social reform has been suspect for histori-

cal and accidental reasons in some religious and in traditionalist circles, a suspicion not lessened by those of its advocates who propose to dispense with charity and to run affairs according to justice alone—a mundane and rather mean conception of justice at that.

### **Not Hostile to Christianity**

Yet to conclude that the present social experiment in Britain is hostile, or even indifferent, to the values of Christianity would be to misread the situation.

Anti-clericalism has rarely flourished, perhaps for the reason that clericalism has never been prominent; to go deeper there has been little ground for the accusation that religion is the opium of the people: it has kept close to ethics, and ethics has been conceived in the sober and tangible terms of civic service and social health. Twisted baroque architecture scarcely exists, the nearest approach being the sedate and cheerful classicism of Sir Christopher Wren's churches in the City of London, and this may be taken as an architectural symbol of a religious temper which has usually shrugged off the death-glorifying instinct in mysticism as strange and morbid.

### **Religion Not Conservative**

Though one might expect an established church body to be conservative in sentiment, the fact is that for more



than a century some of the Church of England's most devoted supporters have worked for Christian Socialism. The sympathies of the late William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, were with the Labor Party; he and Cardinal Hinsley, Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, have been two outstanding prelates of recent years. (Incidentally the Archbishop of Canterbury should not be confused with the Dean, whose ecclesiastical functions are merely to supervise the services and safeguard the fabric of the cathedral.)

The Catholics, a growing and well organized body of some millions, are ever alive to any threat of totalitarianism, but on the whole they do not feel that religion will be less protected and supported under a Socialist than under a Conservative régime. They vote for this party or that, and the division between the political Right and Left cannot be traced along religious lines. It may be remarked that some of the more vivid Socialist members of parliament have come from the Catholic strongholds on the Mersey and the Clyde.

#### **Treatment of Minorities**

The acid test of a civilized democracy is discovered, not in sweeping adoption of the will of the numerical majority, but in its treatment of minorities. Any who picture Britain as a regimented country would be surprised to learn of the extent of voluntary organizations, of the freedom they are allowed and of the State-support they enjoy. Those parents who feel that the

Christian moral teaching provided in all State schools is not enough and desire their children to be educated against a more definitely theological background, send them to religious schools whose upkeep and running expenses are paid from public money. The British Broadcasting Corporation impartially assigns periods to religious conferences and services. Social Clubs for young men and women, directed in many cases by a Christian congregation, may look for public assistance and so may many charitable projects so long as they are well run and are judged to meet a need. Despite the tendency of the State to absorb, it must be admitted that voluntary movements are likely to remain strong in public life.

At a recent Labor Conference a delegate affirmed that the program of his party was the most important message for humanity since the Sermon on the Mount: he may have been naive, but he meant no irreverence, and he illustrated the fact that to many of the men who are engineering present social policy it comes easier to quote the Bible than the writings of Karl Marx, with which indeed they are scarcely familiar. They feel justly that they are inheritors of a tradition which was already working in the Commonwealth before Marx was heard of; they are persuaded, rightly or wrongly, that their plans can insure a civilized way of life without materialism, class violence and suppression of conscience. Such men will never become Communists.

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### **Lest We Forget**

Social, exterior action must not be allowed to take first place in our Christianity. We are called to share the intimate life of the Divine Persons and there will always be a part of us reserved for that. That is the full flowering of our deepest human dignity, and if you do not understand this you cannot call yourself a son of God, as many people today think they can and still claim that a Christian's first duty is to work for the improvement of the social order.

JEAN DANÉLOU

*Widespread apathy and the pressure of selfish interests prevent effective measures to improve conditions among the nation's millions of migratory workers.*

# RUN-AROUND FOR MIGRANTS

## *Still No Action to Improve Conditions*

Raymond Bernard, S.J.  
Institute of Social Order

CAN THE PUBLIC IGNORE the American migratory crop workers, one million and more of the four and a half million laborers who earn a pitiful income on this country's farms?

When their plight grew serious in the 1930's enough attention was focussed on it by the propaganda novels of John Steinbeck, the reports of Carey McWilliams, the studies of Dr. Paul S. Taylor, Dr. Arthur Ross and others, and many popular magazine and newspaper accounts for the American people to see it as a pressing, genuine and unmistakable emergency.

The state of emergency has dragged on up to now, despite the attendant publicity and despite the sound recommendations of the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor made in March, 1947. That Committee's second recommendation read:

It is recommended that local, State, and National citizen action be encouraged and stimulated by the dissemination of information in a form which can be used by civic, labor, church and educational agencies toward the end of mobilizing the intelligence and conscience of as wide a group and as many groups as possible for a progressive attack on the problems of migrant workers. This effort should not only result in needed legislation, but also make it possible for migrant workers and their families to have an appropriate place in the life of the communities in which they are employed.<sup>1</sup>

### Poor Reception

Shortly after the appearance of the Interagency Committee Report, the chairman of the House Labor Committee, the late Representative John Lesinski of Michigan, introduced a measure intended to remedy the woes of migrants. Complaints by representatives of food processors induced Mr. Lesinski's own committee to smother his attempt.

Somehow then both branches of the legislature permitted their concern for "a sizable segment of our population, through community and State neglect . . . robbed of so many normal American and human rights that it is almost unbelievable" to fade from their consciences and disappear from the calendar of legislative action. This neglect by the congressional consciences, which should have as an eternal care the welfare of the 4.5 millions of farm employees as well as the interests of less than 2 per cent of the nation's farmers who employ them, was only another indication that no matter how well-informed the public might be about migrant troubles, no one seemed to be genuinely interested.

Yet the Interagency Committee had done a noble job. It had pointed out unmistakably that child labor, sub-standard living and a padlock on

<sup>1</sup> *Migrant Labor . . . a Human Problem, Report and Recommendations, Federal In-*

*teragency Committee on Migrant Labor, Washington, D. C., 1947.*

education had destroyed the rights of children and deeply disturbed the integrity of family life of more than a million persons. The Committee also discovered and announced that this vast army of farm workers, not simply the migrants alone, were unorganized, unprotected by workmen's compensation laws in most states, ineligible for educational, health or welfare benefits while they followed seasonal employment opportunities—in brief, that frequently these farm workers find it impossible to keep up even a minimum standard of living. Most serious were irregular recruitment and employment, together with low wages and poor housing. As early as July, 1946, this Committee issued a preliminary report, "Recommendations for Joint Action," to the governors of all the States.

### "Unconcern for Human Values"

The recommendations foresaw certain social changes as necessary "for the elimination of suffering, poverty and insecurity among America's migrant millions." The changes would inevitably call for appropriations. Yet the alternative remained "a continuance of unconcern for human values."

Migrants might have excused the continued unconcern of legislators for human values as attributable to the urgency of wartime problems. Yet when manpower was drained off into the armed services, no attention was given to native American migrants even as an emergency labor force—though special agreements with enviable provisions were entered by this country with suppliers of foreign workmen.

The migrant farm laborer faded from the public consciousness and conscience until the incidence of infant deaths from malnutrition in two California counties—18 in 20 days, during the height of the 1949 cotton-picking season—aroused widespread attention. The

migrant farm laborer and his family were still on the scene. Deaths of infants among these field wanderers were nothing new, reported Dr. Anita Faverman on the last day of November, 1949. The previous year in only six cotton counties, Dr. Faverman said, malnutrition among migrant families had caused the death of 148 infants.

### Serious Emergency

Laborers were crowding in. Conditions would worsen without greater parental education, increased food supplies and prenatal care for mothers. It was Dr. Faverman who asked for "a coordinated approach to the migrants' problem of labor demand, housing, sanitation, health services and medical care, welfare, education and recreation." Visiting writers and photographers provided evidence of a serious emergency. Although the story of the migrant oppression appeared in at least 13 magazines and many of the nation's newspapers,<sup>2</sup> the Catholic press generally left the subject untouched, despite the fact that many areas involved are Catholic, and despite the powerful impact the story makes on readers. The *Commonweal* apparently alone continued to stir up sympathy.

<sup>2</sup> The fullest and most basic material may be found in the two reports, *Migrant Labor, a Human Problem*, and *Migratory Labor in American Agriculture*, Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, Washington, D. C., 1951. Surveys of conditions in 1948 were written by the author: "Migrants, Ten Years Later," *SOCIAL ORDER*, 2 (April, 1949) 157-62 and "Our Home-Grown DP's," *America*, 80 (February 12, 1949) 512-14. More recent magazine surveys are Anne Roller Issler, "The Latest Report on the Joads," *Survey*, 87 (July, 1951) 318-21; "Did They Attack the Root?" *Commonweal*, 54 (April 20, 1951) 29; "Exploited," *Ibid.*, 52 (August 25, 1950) 475-77; William Korcik, "The Wetback Story," *Ibid.*, 54 (July 13, 1951) 327-29; Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, "The Scandal of Migratory Labor," *America*, 85 (May 26, 1951) 213-15. Background for an understanding of conditions is given in Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 1939, and *Ill Fares the Land*, 1942.



## Crisis Brings Action

Governor Earl Warren called a conference in Sacramento and later another in Fresno. This series of conferences was the first California attempt at comprehensive planning. It too made recommendations. It suggested that the state lend personnel, provide financial help and include farm workers in the coverage of Social Security. While the sessions were still in progress, and the record 1949 cotton crop of \$208 million was almost baled, some 35,000 migrant laborers hung around idle, without much hope of jobs until the coming spring.

The following spring more mechanical cotton pickers would come into the fields, together with a labor force augmented by streams of "wetbacks," Mexicans who cross the border illegally in search of work at a rate of 10,000 a month. The problem was genuine, for the Fresno area at least, and the nation read about it.

Solutions flew about like flies over the filthy, unsightly, inhumane camps of migrant families. One plan mentioned small workshops and decentralized industries,\* part-time jobs in town, gardens and cows, and resettlement, perhaps in projects begun by the old Farm Security Administration. Another argued for an 8-hour day, Warren's plan for more industries, Social Security and the return of all "wetbacks" to Mexico. The Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches in a report urged enforcement of regulations on labor camps, more stringent inspection, orderly recruitment, Social Security, decent housing and educational opportunities for migrant children. For failure to face the problem common not just to California but to 39 other

states, both this church council and the local Fresno *Bee* (which made its own investigation and report) blamed public apathy. "Even though some forward steps have been taken," said the Council report, "the nation stands today about where it did 10 years ago in the aiding of agricultural workers, and with real danger of moving backward."

## Another Investigation

The nation stood motionless until June 3, 1950, when five men were appointed by executive order to a Presidential Commission on Migratory Labor, to inquire into social, economic, health and educational conditions among domestic as well as alien workers. The members included Maurice T. Van Hecke, professor of law, University of North Carolina, chairman; Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, San Antonio, Texas; William M. Leiserson, Washington, D. C., economist, former member of the National Labor Relations Board; Paul E. Miller, chief of the University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service; and Peter H. Odegard, Berkeley, California, Professor of Political Science at the University of California. This group lost little time in setting to work, starting its first hearing in mid-July in Washington. It doubtless was impressed by the testimony which pointed to "unbelievably substandard conditions of life and labor among many migrant farm workers," child labor, disease-ridden hovels, lack of coverage by Federal minimum-wage laws or Social Security.

Hearings of the first two days brought up many constructive recommendations and reforms for discussion. One of the first witnesses advocated enactment and enforcement of child-labor and school attendance laws in each State, minimum-wage requirements, sanitary housing, State licensing and regulation of labor camps, State and Federal licensing and regulation of private employment agencies and labor

\* These two features have been attributed to Monsignor John O'Grady, executive secretary of the National Catholic Charities Conference, who gave valuable aid to the 1947 committee in particular.

contractors, as well as Federal regulation and inspection of interstate transportation of workers.

### **Exclusion From Social Legislation**

Another witness asked for attention for a positive program to regularize employment and provide steady income, for a definition of areas of responsibility between State and Federal governments in this problem and for a concentration on action. Other witnesses deplored the exclusion of labor unionists from the Commission, as well as the exclusion of agricultural labor from nearly all social legislation of the past 16 years. Such views and programs were to bombard the President's Commission in its scheduled three weeks of hearings and consultation in five areas, which finally stretched out to ten months and covered Brownsville, Texas; El Paso; Phoenix, Arizona; Los Angeles; Portland; Fort Collins, Colorado; Memphis; Saginaw, Michigan; Trenton, New Jersey; West Palm Beach; and Washington. Before it came representatives of farmers, growers, processors, employees, labor organizations, government officers of all levels, social workers, health authorities, educational leaders, religious groups and migrants themselves.

The Commission reviewed sectional conditions and abuses which have long been under study, made field trips, talked with employers and workers among the crops. Almost unbelievable conditions among migrant laborers and their families were verified again, in the investigations and hearings of the Commission. At Brownsville a physician described the "permanent" housing provided for migrants in Texas thus:

Let us take a typical average town and call it "Lodo." Lodo is divided into two sections by . . . the railroad tracks, the highway, or a ditch. On the southern side of the town we have the Anglo business center, the hospitals, the Anglo residences . . . the schools. . . . Across the tracks we have that part of town referred to as "Mexiquito" or "Little Mexico." . . . In "Mexiquito" you will find that the only

paved street is the main street . . . that there are very few decent buildings, that as much as 90 per cent of the houses are substandard, that there is no drainage, and the majority of dwellings still have the primitive openpit privies. . . . The "Mexiquito section" of Lodo is one large continuous "slum area" in every sense of the word. Then you multiply "Lodo" by several hundred more towns or cities throughout this area and have a worse slum area than any found in New York, Chicago or San Francisco. (*Report*, p. 145)

### **Facts of Migrant Life**

Another witness, who spoke from experience as a farm laborer, graphically described a district just outside Bakersfield, California:

. . . You have there an area of 15 blocks long and 14 blocks wide with a range between half Mexicans and half Negro, and a population around 7,000 people without sewerage, without any forms of sanitation whatever, without the enforcement of any county or State sanitation laws. (*Report*, p. 145)

The relation of decent food to pittance pay appeared in strong light in a physician's testimony:

I can say from the reports of the nurses that we do have dietary deficiencies, such as pellagra, and cases of that have come to my attention—due to a diet consisting of corn meal and perhaps rice and very little else—no vitamins. There are also evidences of merely ordinary starvation among many of these people which the nurses report. . . .

A survey which I made and photographed, in the Mathis, Texas, labor camps, showed that 96 per cent of the children in that camp had not consumed any milk whatsoever in the last six months. It also showed that 8 out of every 10 adults had not eaten any meat in the last six months. . . . The reason given was that they could not afford it with the money they were making. (*Report*, p. 154)

### **Same Story Everywhere**

New testimony at hearing after hearing across the country only added to the story of unsanitary, helpless poverty. A doctor at Fort Collins, Colorado, described "the one-room shacks with old iron bedsteads and thin pads . . . in which as many as eight to ten peo-

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ple sleep, and with an old cook stove, dirt just as thick as you could find it, no toilet facilities, no water facilities . . . ."

Florida was no different, as a county health department director reported:

This is an actual observation: A sanitarian reports 180 people living in 60 rooms, with only one toilet stool that works. This has been corrected somewhat by three additional stools which were added by the time of the last inspection. . . .

One of our public health nurses visited a nursery maintained on a private farm and found 48—I did not say 4, I said 48—infants on two double beds. I might add that two of the babies in that location subsequently died. (*Report*, p. 155)

A labor contractor, some 2,500 of whom reportedly work for the California farm operators, testified that many contractors furnish Mexican workers with drugs, liquor and prostitutes. (*Report*, p. 92)

Medical service for non-residents usually is quite restricted, and can have important bearing on the family life of migrants. The Commission Report condenses a typical tragedy in the San Joaquin Valley of California from a case history:

*Inquest:* . . . The body is that of a well-developed, moderately emaciated white male infant—approximately 4 months old. . . .

*Father's testimony:* On November 4, he started vomiting but stopped and seemed better. About 9 o'clock on Sunday, the 6th, he was very bad, and we started for the hospital. We took him to the Coalinga Hospital but we didn't have any money and they sent us to the General Hospital in Fresno. We are not familiar with this area and we stopped at the Wallace Sanatorium. We didn't have any money so they sent us on to the General Hospital. When we arrived they told us the baby was dead. (*Report*, p. 155-6)

### Report Appears

By March 26, 1951, the Commission had looked into more trouble areas than it had first planned, had seen the same issues reviewed and investigated for the last fifty years by Federal, State and private agencies, and was submitting its report. "A careful and

painstaking collection of the basic facts about social, economic, health, and educational conditions among migratory workers" President Truman called their report. "It deals systematically with basic public policy issues . . ." and ". . . suggests that primary reliance must be placed on the use—and better use—of our domestic farm labor force. The report makes a number of suggestions and recommendations for Federal and State legislative and administrative action . . . and deserves the careful consideration of all of us—of the Congress, the Executive agencies, and the general public," said Mr. Truman.<sup>4</sup>

Their 80,000 word volume was summarized by reporters and news services as an assertion that the industrialization of agriculture had brought with it all the social evils that came with the earlier industrial revolution. Where industrial workers by unionization and social legislation had won benefits from the rapid increase of productivity in factory, mine and mill, the farm worker generally had been not only kept in near-peonage, but forced to seek decent work and existence wages off the farm. The Commission did not hesitate to make recommendations in all eleven areas of inquiry, yet its principal suggestion for corrective action was the establishment of a permanent Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor, to be appointed by the President and responsible to him.

It and all concerned students and workers had seen the strong, constructive suggestions of the Federal Inter-agency Committee disappear into the air on the dissolution of the Committee in 1947. The newly-projected eight-man body, to comprise three public members, one member each from the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, State, Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Federal Security Agency, would at least preserve and guard

<sup>4</sup> *New York Times*, April 8, 1951.

the recommendations of its parent investigators. So far, President Truman has not named the members of the new Federal Committee publicly asked for March 27, 1951.

### Neglects Local Responsibility

The appeal of the 1947 Federal Interagency Report for local, state and national action, which would have arisen naturally by stimulation and realization of local responsibility, has unfortunately not the same prominence in the 1951 report. The tendency throughout the latter document is to refer all action to Federal, State and local authorities (in that order). Local and private groups and agencies, the President's Commission admits, have made some effort; it would help enormously if local and district groups, such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Daughters, N.C.C.W. veterans' associations and others would investigate migrant camps and working conditions firsthand and stimulate interest by public report and discussion.

Local interest and responsibility, steadily increasing, would bring the migrant plight before the public conscience and the congressional conscience. Only then may be expected steady, constructive and effective action.

### "Vested Right"

Meantime, not at all alarmed by the prospect of unemployment, overcrowding and health problems which had worried the citizens of Fresno and many others in the cotton counties, the California Chamber of Commerce's Agriculture Committee sent out a call for 200,000 Mexican nationals to handle the tremendous cotton crop forecast for 1951. An official of a growers' association in the same state said that "if you make it legal," his members would abide by the law—though for a long period various agencies ran into considerable opposition in their enforcement of present laws and regulations. Gladwin Hill had pointed out that al-

though "wetbacks" are fugitives from justice, "Southwestern cotton, citrus and vegetable growers have come to the fixed view that there is nothing wrong in employing them, harboring them or even in actively recruiting them across the International Boundary. Further, they have come to feel that they have a vested right in the traffic."<sup>5</sup> He cited frenzied newspaper reactions that followed recent increases in apprehensions of "wetbacks" by the border patrol and pointed to evidence of interference by political figures in the patrol policies.

### Equality for All

The bluntness of the Report and the constructive recommendations it offers made little impression upon Senator Clinton P. Anderson, whom *Fortune* calls "long a spokesman for the southwestern farm bloc," who with other Western cotton growers wants an end to alien contract labor with its responsibilities and costs.<sup>6</sup> They apparently excited Senator Allen J. Ellender, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, into clamoring for the Secretary of Labor to recruit "wetbacks" for the "needy" growers. He introduced a bill (S.984) which at best could regularize the inflow of underpaid seasonal farm labor at some cost to taxpayers. His purpose professedly was "to continue cordial relations between this country and Mexico." During debate on the measure, Senators Dennis Chavez and H. R. Humphrey pointed out that the bill assured Mexican workers certain benefits not accorded to American farm workers, an evident inequality which they wanted abolished. Both insisted on requiring reasonable effort to secure native American workers and payment at prevailing wages. The sponsor of the bill asked his colleagues not to cripple it by amendments.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, March 24-28, 1951.

<sup>6</sup> *Fortune*, 43 (April, 1951) 60.

## Who Opposed?

Added to the undoubted opposition of the members of the President's Commission to such piece-meal, short-sighted legislation was the condemnation by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and by James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union. Green pointed out that the measure is contrary to the Commission's recommendations, and both he and Patton asked for recruitment and effective use of American labor. Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, member of the President's Commission, and Archbishop Edwin F. Byrne of Santa Fe also protested the Ellender Bill. Others who lined up solidly against Ellender's "solution" included the National Consumers' League, the Disabled War Veterans, the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., the American Legion Auxiliary of Albuquerque, the P. T. A., the Railway Brotherhoods, A.F.L., C.I.O., the New Mexico Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, the Rocky Mountain Farmers' Union, the National Farm Labor Union, the National Congress of American Indians and some religious groups.

One voice in the Senate opposed the Ellender bill persistently. Senator Chavez, believing that it would bring back to New Mexico the peonage system and would lower farm labor standards all over the country, contended that the measure would benefit only the big farmers of the Southwest by aggravating the problems already plaguing the area. Large-scale importation of Mexican labor, explained Senator Chavez, is desired by only about 125,000 big "factory farms" owned by less than 2 per cent of the nation's farm operators, producing 7 per cent of this country's food and fiber and offering employment to the alien workers for an average of 90 days.

## Senatorial Charges

Senators Chavez and Humphrey had

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proposed many amendments to the Ellender bill to make it measure up to the recommendations of the President's Commission. In the debate Senator Wayne Morse brought out the snubbing of his Committee on Labor and Public Welfare at the conference last January in Mexico City which drew up terms of agreement on Mexican importation of migrants, and the apparent usurpation of jurisdiction by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. Senator Ellender made no reply to either of these two matters, nor did he state why so much time had been allowed to lapse after the Mexico City conference that the bill now had to be practically railroaded through.

Although he signed the measure, President Truman stated that S.984 did not face up to basic issues. It constituted "very limited progress, which hardly touches our basic farm labor problems." The President reminded the Congress that they still face this question clearly stated by the Commission (p. 22):

Shall we continue indefinitely to have low work standards and conditions of employment in agriculture thus depending on the underprivileged and the unfortunate at home and abroad to supply and replenish our seasonal and migratory work force?

Or shall we do in agriculture what we have already done in other sectors of our economy—create honest-to-goodness jobs which will offer a decent living so that domestic workers, without being forced by dire necessity, will be willing to stay in agriculture and become a dependable labor supply? Just as farm employers want able and willing workers when needed, so do workers want reliable jobs which yield a fair living. Neither is being satisfied.

## Sought New Legislation

To begin to meet the basic problem, the President proposed immediate action on a law to punish those who harbor or conceal "wetbacks" and a law to permit the border patrol to inspect places of employment in search of suspect illegal immigrants. Much more is needed to improve farm labor conditions, the President told the Con-



gressmen, and it was only on the assurance that supplementary legislation and appropriations would receive prompt attention at this session that the President signed the Ellender bill.

### Clear Directions

The Commission had plainly stated that "In the present emergency first reliance should be placed upon using our domestic labor force more effectively. No special measures should be adopted to increase the number of alien contract laborers beyond the number admitted in 1950. . . . Future efforts should be directed toward supplying agricultural labor needs with our own workers and eliminating dependence on foreign labor." It pointed to another sore spot: "In the long run, self-organization is the method by which agricultural workers can best improve their working conditions. For this reason, farm workers should not be denied the protection and facilities of the Labor-Management Relations Act." More and more, the issue boiled down to the simple analysis: "Plenty of domestic workers are available if the growers would only give them decent wages and working conditions."

Senator Humphrey heads a subcommittee on labor and welfare which has begun a study of the entire migrant labor problem, with a view to over-all legislation. Certainly, additional measures will be introduced, but far too late to have any effect on this year's harvest.

### Unrealistic Attitude

What reception the Senators will give such measures is hardly in doubt. They rejected the Chavez plan to extend to American migrants the transportation benefits and other aids included in the Ellender bill, by a 59-12 vote. Disappointed, Chavez himself gave up hope for his amendment to make harboring "illegals" a felony punishable by a fine as high as \$2,000 and imprisonment as long as five years.

The judiciary committee of the Sen-

ate has been considering a bill similar to the felony-for-harboring measure. Typical of the attitude of most Senators was the Ellender rejoinder to proposals for prevailing wages among all migrants that such a provision in legislation would establish a minimum wage, and "the Congress has never been willing to establish a minimum wage for our own United States labor."

The Senators apparently did not recognize how unrealistic was the naive assumption of the Agriculture Committee chairman that an illiterate, Spanish-speaking, hungry, illegally-entered, penniless Mexican who may have walked a thousand miles could bargain freely with the operators of gigantic factory farms. Senator Chavez fights almost a lone battle for American farm labor. One wonders if most of his colleagues have read even a summary of the President's Commission Report.

### Outlook Dim

The President's Commission had found much "buck-passing" as to responsibility,<sup>7</sup> much "confusion, conflict, failure of communication" in all the "sporadic and scattered" approaches up to now. Even this Committee skirted in its recommendations the basic changes in American agriculture such as overmechanization, "factory farming," speculation by landsharks and "suitcase farmers" and insurance companies, absentee ownership, monopolistic practices—all of which greatly help to drive away to the town or the migrants' shacks the "family farmer."

The millions of migrants whose conditions of labor and life have shocked the public conscience and made it uneasy are going to be lost again in the shuffle. After all, they have no roots in the community, cannot meet legal residence requirements and are usually beyond the reach of the local school, health and welfare authorities—and the vote remains beyond their reach.

<sup>7</sup> *Migratory Labor in American Agriculture*, p. 176.

*Belgian industry has introduced many social-welfare measures since the close of World War II. This article summarizes results of a survey of these steps.*

## SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN BELGIAN INDUSTRY

### *Steps in Labor-Management Cooperation*

Alfred R. Desautels, S.J. and Joseph M. Fallon, S.J.  
Weston College

THE INDUSTRIAL atmosphere of Belgium has taken on a rosier hue since the close of World War II. Before the war labor was striving to widen the scope of its influence and to wrest a modicum of security for its membership; but with the advent of hostilities and the era of occupation, it was forced to abandon its long-range views and to go underground. Meeting there the leaders of industry, labor together with management drew up plans and progressive policies which were implemented to a limited extent in individual plants. As other men of good will in the ranks of management heard of these plans and observed their successful adaptations to various industries, they sought contact with these groups to apply them to their own enterprises. Those who had experience with this new approach felt that its psychological effects amply repaid their efforts, and general satisfaction was evidenced by the multiplicity of social services found in Belgian industry.

As the chaos of the war-time and post-war era passed, and the need of framing a new official industrial code became apparent, it was deemed necessary to make a study of the social achievements in various phases of Bel-

gian industry which had withstood the test of time and the rapidly changing conditions within the Belgian industrial arena. Thus social planners and statesmen would have a body of proven data in the light of which they could frame their industrial code.<sup>1</sup>

### **Undertook Survey**

In February, 1948, M. Jean Lannoye, a member of the Direction Committee of the Federation of Belgian Industries—which is roughly the equivalent of the American National Association of Manufacturers—had sent out a preliminary questionnaire inquiring about the principal social achievements of the member industries. In all, 3800 industrial and commercial firms in Belgium, hiring a minimum of 50 workers, received these questionnaires. Answers were received from 1720, covering 44% of the firms studied, and a personnel of 675,683 men, or 65% of the total number of workers under investigation.

Later specialists in the various social

<sup>1</sup> For a short analysis of the latest developments in Belgium's social and legal organization of industry, cf. Leo C. Brown, S.J., "Labor - Management Cooperation," SOCIAL ORDER, 5 (1951) 211-14.

fields were called upon to prepare detailed questionnaires, and in January, 1949, these were sent to the firms that had shown interest in the study. About half of the industrialists cooperated with the committee, and the results were published under 15 different headings in a study called "Social Achievements in Belgian Industry." These results were not representative of the social progress of Belgian industry as a whole, inasmuch as the questions covered only those phases of industry that were considered most interesting to the Federation. While the study is of value since it indicates management's growing interest in the problems of the workers, nevertheless it is somewhat disappointing because of its lack of specific data and scientific measurement of the material it has obtained. This article is a brief summary of the Federation's findings under the fifteen headings which were used in its investigation.

### **I. Job Security, Hygiene, General Improvement**

The questionnaire dealing with job security, hygiene and general improvement received most attention; 601 answered. This is perhaps because committees regulating these matters, having been made obligatory by law in 1947, were found to be the most widespread of all those under consideration. While the problem of security in industry was far from new, the participation of workmen in the policy of job security, by the intermediary of special committees, was much more recent. The answers revealed that wherever firms had been cooperative in this regard, a real spirit of confidence reigned in management and among most of the members of the committee. Unfortunately it was also discovered that their efforts were frequently ineffective since they were rarely heard by the majority of the workers. The investigation also showed that the committees that functioned

merely as a matter of form were few. In general, while the Federation judged that these committees had found their proper place in industry, it also perceived that their success was in proportion to the good will of management and to the personality of the head of the committee. This of course leads one to question whether they really have found their place as yet.

### **II. Industrial Councils**

This phase of the investigation, it is to be carefully noted, was concerned only with those industrial councils existing in 1948, that is, prior to the law<sup>2</sup> that made them obligatory in certain firms. A study of the answers received from 40 firms makes it clear that in most of these the Council was provided with information on social, technical and economic matters. Moreover, it was consulted, and in most firms, its suggestions on organizational and social matters were welcomed. This was rarely done in the economic and financial sphere. Finally, the power of co-decision was granted by only a small minority, whether on technical, economic or social matters. Additional remarks stress that in general the Council did not play a very important role, but that it was useful if only because it helped establish progressively friendlier relations. The inconclusiveness of the results was generally attributed to the imperfect formation of the Council and to its lack of contact with the body of workmen.

The information received showed:

1. that the existence of a Council did not constitute, as such, an element favorable to good relations between management and labor, but that the Council was a tool that could be made to function;
2. that the competence of the Council

<sup>2</sup> William N. Clarke, "Industrial Democracy in Belgium," *SOCIAL ORDER*, 2 O.S. (February, 1949) 49-68.



was not as important as the spirit guiding its members, and the manner in which problems to be studied were approached;

3. that hard work was necessary, and that success would be real only if the Council could bring about a progressive improvement in human relations in the industry.

### **III. Methods of Payment**

Since the majority of the firms receive many questionnaires on the subject of payments, and since the work entailed in answering them is tedious, the number of those who answered, 258, was relatively small. The information gleaned stressed the multiplicity of methods practiced. Most firms had incentive plans under some form or other which, according to the study, attested to an increase in production as a result, as well as to an improvement in morale and stability among the employees.

### **IV. Family Allowances Beyond Legal Requirements**

Of the 63 firms that answered, the majority stated that family allowances were handled by management alone, but only in 31 cases could the beneficiaries of legal allocations present a claim for the voluntary aid offered by the management. It should be noted that 31 firms also made it clear that the payments would not be reduced in the event that those required by law were to increase. Such allowances are granted in proportion to the number of children, on the occasion of first Communion, etc.

### **V. Voluntary Sickness and Accident Indemnities**

The initiative to grant indemnities to workers in times of illness or accidents was taken in various firms when social security was not as yet obligatory. At the time of the study it was found that these subsidies were necessary, frequently serving as a corrective for the excessively rigid character of the legal

system and of complementing the insufficiency of legal indemnities in cases of grave risk.

This questionnaire was not concerned with the system prevalent in many firms whereby indemnities are drawn from a sick fund. Most significant in this respect were the remarks of certain correspondents that workers were less disposed to avail themselves unfairly of these voluntary indemnities when made aware of their source, whereas those abusing funds guaranteed by law frequently thought they were performing a morally indifferent act.

### **VI. Sick Funds**

An extensive variety of formulas which allowed workmen to participate in the management of these funds, was revealed in this questionnaire. On the other hand, the funds were gathered according to a relatively uniform method, since 95% of the answers suggested only two systems: the subsidies were either contributed by the industry alone, or by joint-contributions of the workmen and industry. While the funds covered risks or accidents described under nine categories, workers applied for them almost exclusively in cases of protracted illness and serious surgical operations. This was especially true where the employees had the right of co-decision in establishing criteria for receiving assistance from the sick funds.

### **VII. Voluntary Pension Funds**

Of the 190 firms that answered this questionnaire, 176 had established a pension fund not required by law for their employees, and 12 others granted certain benefits which were non-obligatory and variable. Moreover, 139 firms entrusted the management of the pension funds to an insurance company, while others managed it themselves. In 108 cases the firm and workers jointly contributed to the fund; in 30 other cases the firms were sole contributors. Most firms declared that the creation of

the pension funds improved the morale of the workmen who were thereby less concerned about the future. This also is reported to promote greater stability in the personnel and a greater diligence at work.

### **VIII. Social Benefits**

The questionnaire on social benefits, which was answered by 192 firms, was concerned with the existence of dining halls for the workmen, cafeterias, working clothes, vacation homes, convalescent homes, day nurseries, etc. It was found that most achievements date from World War II. Whenever these improvements were brought about by the collaboration of management and labor, the industrialists showed themselves amply satisfied; they concluded that the power granted to the Industrial Councils in matters concerning social works gave excellent material and psychological results. The only notable deficiency was the almost universal absence of day nurseries, despite the tremendous number of women employees.

### **IX. Leisure Benefits**

This investigation proved interesting because it showed variety and imagination in taking the initiative; but on the intellectual and artistic use of leisure there was little information. It was readily felt that the majority of firms remained satisfied with establishing a club-house without caring to make it useful. This attitude, according to the study, had the merit of fostering initiative among the workmen themselves. Thus, in most firms organizing leisure resulted in a development and improvement of relations among the workers and between management and personnel. In general, too, there was a favorable reaction on the attitude of the young employees and on the health of the workers.

### **X. The Housing Situation**

The housing problem was particularly acute as a result of the war. Manage-

ment was concerned with the housing of their workmen because they preferred to hire workers living near the factories. In general, workmen, though desirous of having their homes nearby, wished to avoid leaving the social milieu to which they had become accustomed. Only 159 firms answered the questionnaire on the housing problem. This number was considered rather low, since many firms pursued a systematic housing policy for their workmen for more than a century.

### **XI. Vocational Training**

The investigation on vocational training was centered mainly on apprenticeship, improvement of work skills, development of administrative employees, etc. The information received did not reflect even approximately industry's attitude regarding vocational formation and technical instruction. The firms interested in such problems were obviously far more numerous than the 161 who answered the questionnaire. It would seem that many industrialists refused to answer because of the complexity of the problem under study. The following tendencies, however, could be gathered from the answers:

1. Interest regarding vocational training was found especially on a local level. Each firm trains apprentices exclusively for its own benefit; problems are not confronted on a general plane. The danger in this attitude is that companies thus ignore the government's insistence on general vocational training.
2. There seems to be little relation between vocational instruction and an industry as a whole. It would be desirable that industrialists in the same field of production show interest in the schools of each region and maintain contact with them through vocational grouping. Finally, interest in this problem, it was noted, should be encouraged and directed from the local to the national level. More extensive information given

to the industrialists would undoubtedly stimulate this interest.

### **XII. Medical Services**

That industry is bound by certain obligations to prevent accidents and to care for the victims of these accidents is a fact well known. However, the object of medical services is not limited to such cases; in fact, business must concern itself with general working conditions and the physical protection of workers. Consequently this questionnaire was directed principally to remedial and preventive medical services, as well as to special examinations. For the purpose of these examinations, most large firms chose to establish clinics and even hospitals. In some instances groups of firms combined to establish joint undertakings of this kind.

### **XIII. Company Publications**

What is the usefulness of newspapers? This investigation discovered that firms considered them a means of strengthening the bonds of friendship among individual workmen, of creating an *esprit de corps*, of assuring a better understanding of the organization of the firm and of promoting better relations between management and labor. Only 24 firms answered, and these declared that most of the newspapers were founded after the second World War. The editing is seldom taken over by the firm; it is usually handled by the employees. The pages vary between 2 and 32, and from 35 to 4000 copies are printed and distributed *gratis* to the personnel.

### **XIV. Social Services**

Social services are not new in Belgium, since the investigation revealed that even before 1930 there were 28 of them. The great majority of those functioning at the present time, however, began shortly after World War II. Industrial social services had given rise to an abundant literature on this matter. Their internal structure, their

place in the industry, their relations with the general management, all these phases have produced an endless round of theories. But since their benefits are frequently produced outside the pale of these theoretical controversies, it proved almost impossible to obtain a satisfactory measurement of their achievements.

### **XV. Women Social Workers**

In this field, too, Belgian industry had some experience prior to World War II, but it is especially between 1940 and 1945 that the majority of the industrialists questioned hired one or more social workers. Of the 157 answers received, 92 engaged a social worker between 1940 and 1945. These workers visited homes, gave advice on house-keeping, the education and vocational orientation of children, hygiene, etc. At the factory they advise the personnel on the prevention of accidents, on hygiene, domestic relations, education of the young, etc.

### **Conclusion**

The study indicates one more groping toward co-management in European industry. As is clear, however, the broad scope of co-management, extending to the economic, social and personnel domains in industry, is not really the subject of this investigation. It is limited to the social and personnel spheres, and even here it is advisable to put a curb on enthusiasm, for the survey represents only a beginning. Nevertheless it is encouraging to note that a wedge has already been inserted in the iron-bound status system of Belgium.

Although many of these social advances are management-sponsored and might conceivably be tainted with the mark of paternalism, yet since they were studied with a view to drafting a legal code, the ultimate abuses of paternalism need cause no grave concern. What is important is that management and labor are meeting over the confer-

ence table in committees of one type or other in Belgium; hence there is a real opportunity for more constructive relations between them.

With labor enjoying a voice, however small, in the determination of even peripheral policies, the way should be laid open for a new sense of community, of participation in the joint func-

tion of directing economic activity to the good of all—management, labor and consumer. This was what was lost with the industrial revolution, and what gave rise to the dreadful insecurity characteristic of industrialization. The future alone will show how well the possibilities of a new cooperative spirit between management and labor will be realized.



## **Toward Economic Democracy**

A gradual but steady growth into a system of agencies of cooperation for the common good must be accomplished by serious efforts to extend the ownership of productive property as widely as possible not only in farming but in city industry.

The widespread ownership of property is basic to a sound economy and a good social order. This period of change, of transition from the present system into something better, can be used to induce wide ownership by employees of the companies in which they work. Profit-sharing, in which the profit shares buy stock so that the people working in the company participate in ownership, seems a reasonable method of distributing productive property.

Since small stockholders are individually helpless, it may be mutually advantageous for an employees' stockholders' association to represent the rank-and-file of the worker-owners. This is an unusual proposal, but we ask the unions and all interested parties to give it thoughtful consideration.

N.C.W.C. LABOR DAY STATEMENT, 1951

# WAR AND HUMAN PROGRESS

## A Review

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FOR ALMOST four decades historians have generally accepted Werner Sombart's thesis on the relationship of industrial progress and war. Published on the eve of World War I,<sup>1</sup> the German scholar's thesis seemed sound economically and historically. Briefly, Sombart maintained that increasingly large armies and the mounting cost of supplying them led to the development of large-scale enterprise in commerce, industry and finance. Armies provided the guaranteed large market which, under the capitalist system, was a necessary precondition for large-scale production. The thesis, especially as developed by Sombart's followers, went on to show that the guaranteed market created by the army not only promoted large-scale production but also spurred on inventors and facilitated experiments in organizing the means of production. Thus it furthered scientific and economic progress.

### Sees Broader Implications

John U. Nef's recently-published *War and Human Progress*<sup>2</sup> is the first important critical analysis of Sombart's thesis. Dr. Nef does not deny that under certain conditions in modern times war has promoted large-scale industry, but he does deny that it has played a decisive role in the origins of industrialism

or in promoting human progress. He criticizes Sombart principally for the narrow limits the latter imposed on the subject. Sombart was a socio-economist whose interest focused on the development of capitalism. As a specialist he ruled out of consideration all non-economic materials, which he thought had no bearing on the inquiry. Nef insists, on the other hand, on widening the investigation in order to see how war frequently hindered economic progress, how other demands were frequently more imperative than the military in promoting industrialization and how religious and ideological considerations have been closely interwoven with changing warfare and with economic progress. Nef shows conclusively that spiritual and intellectual factors have played a more decisive role than material both in restraining war and in promoting it.

Dr. Nef is well qualified to make this difficult study. A professor of economic history at the University of Chicago, his lectures and his many publications have earned him the reputation of a careful, competent scholar. But Dr. Nef belongs to that school of thought which believes that minute research by itself is not enough. He is chairman of the Committee on Social Thought at Chicago University, a non-departmentalized group of professors interested in the relationships among the various social studies. This professional background equips him to keep the trees and the forest of scholarship simultaneously in view. No one but a specialist in

<sup>1</sup> Werner Sombart, *Krieg und Kapitalismus* (Munich, 1913). The thesis is also found worked into the later editions of Sombart's famous *Der moderne Kapitalismus*.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. xii, 464. \$6.50.

economic history knows the intricacies of the subject well enough to criticize Sombart effectively; no one who is not more than a specialist would have the vision to do it.

### Studies Human Progress

Throughout *War and Human Progress* the author keeps in mind a distinction between economic progress and that more vague, less easily distinguishable "human progress." He refuses to accept the assumption that "material progress is necessarily favorable to peace," an assumption he considers "one of the principal errors which led to world wars." (p. 381) Just what Nef considers true human progress is not precisely described anywhere in these pages, but it becomes evident that it is spiritual, intellectual and material progress according to the Christian principles of the Western tradition.

The author also distinguishes three levels of scientific progress, which are especially relevant to his inquiry into the relationship between war and economic history. On the highest level are those speculations of a theoretical and general nature, such as the work of Descartes and Harvey and Newton. The second level includes those "investigations helping to solve material problems which are of significance for scientific theory" (p. 169), such as the discovery of the radio or the air pump. The lowest level consists of technological improvements "which have almost no consequence beyond the practical result of providing a new, more efficient technical instrument or process." (p. 169) Dr. Nef warns us not to "take it for granted that advances in technology, aiming at greater economic efficiency or even better health, invariably advance scientific knowledge." (p. 172) They sometimes have the opposite effect.

### Finds Three Periods

On the basis of the nature of war the author divides modern European

history into three periods. The first (1494-1640) is the age of the new warfare—as compared with medieval fighting—and the genesis of industrialism; the second (1640-1740) is an age of limited warfare and of neo-classical civilization; and the third (1740-1950) is an age of industrialism and of total war. Nef conducts separate investigations in each of these periods and formulates a set of conclusions peculiar to each. Precise chronological and geographic data are employed to show that in all three periods economic progress and industrialization generally occurred in times of peace and, during wartime, in countries *not* then at war. England of the sixteenth century is a notable example of the latter case. At the same time, a wide survey of religious, intellectual and artistic developments reveals the relationship of these non-material factors to war and human progress.

Nef's careful research into the development of industrial technology and scientific progress in the first period shows conclusively that progress was generally made during intervals of peace or in countries that enjoyed peace when others were at war. If anything, war tended to be destructive of economic progress in those areas where it was fought. Inventions were seldom made in response to military needs—this point a direct reversal of Sombart's thesis—but once made they could readily be applied to making warfare more deadly. A most valuable contribution of *War and Human Progress* is an analysis of the aesthetic and religious restraints on the full employment of science for slaughtering the enemy. The scientist of this age still believed in man's sinfulness, and the craftsman still had an artist's appreciation of a well finished, properly decorated gun. In this first section, which is the critical one for his thesis on the relationship between war and the origins of industrialism, Nef therefore concludes that



the contribution of war to economic progress was negative rather than positive.

### Second Period Limited War

The author devotes considerable space in the second section of the book to explaining why warfare became limited in a century (1640-1740) when apparently it should have become more destructive. Standing armies grew larger and wars were more constant. The problem of supply was undertaken by the national state. Nevertheless, in this great age of science, the age of Boyle and Leibniz and Newton, warfare became limited and relatively humane. Among the factors contributing to this development, the author lists the scarcity of raw materials and of money, the prevailing aesthetic sense of craftsmen and officers, the moderation of the classical spirit, the shift from religious to economic motivation for war, and paradoxically, the introduction of the bayonet and the filling up of the new standing armies with men from the lower social strata.

In the analysis of these factors Nef shows the value of widening Sombart's horizons in demonstrating how "laughter and tears, and the wit essential to them . . . helped keep violence within bounds." (p. 262) The sense of sin and the facility for laughter had not yet been lost—as they are in our age of total warfare. Nef finds that in this century war contributed very little to the technological progress of the age and nothing at all to the scientific work of such men as Newton. He therefore concludes that "it is difficult to regard even limited warfare as a major factor in preparing the way for modern industrial civilization." (p. 225) These first two sections are a masterful analysis of the relationship between war and human progress down till the beginning of the so-called industrial revolution. It is hard to see how any additional evidence will seriously modify Nef's conclusions in these two sections.

The last two centuries present a different picture. In this period the drive is relentless toward total warfare, Nef shows, because the old religious, aesthetic and humanitarian restraints disappear and because modern industrialization provides the *matériel* with which such war can be waged when the old restraints are loosened. The author maintains in this section that industrialization is related to warfare more as a cause than as an effect. "The role of war in promoting industrial progress had been small compared with the role of industrial progress in bringing on war." (p. 377)

This last part is necessarily the least conclusive. Several more decades must pass before the investigator will have sufficient perspective to decide whether the last war and the prospect of another provide incentive for true scientific investigation such as would not have otherwise been furnished. At any rate, the reader gets the impression for the first time that the author is forcing his thesis beyond the evidence, as for example, his attempt to disassociate the development of atomic energy "for the material benefit of humanity" from the demand created by war.

Nef's *War and Human Progress* will take its place among the decisive books in the historiography of this subject. For once there is justification for a jacket claim that it "is by far the most careful general discussion of war to appear in our century." Its immediate import lies in its drastic modification of Sombart's long-accepted thesis. This is done not by denying Sombart's evidence but by supplementing it with a wealth of material which Sombart ruled out, but which Nef shows to be pertinent.

### Seeks Integral History

Of greater importance to those working in the social sciences is the method whereby Nef approaches his subject. He has shown conclusively that military history cannot be isolated from

the rest of the past without unwittingly contorting it. He has shown that the historian cannot pull the green or the red threads out of the cloth of history without unravelling the past and destroying the pattern woven into it. What Nef has done for military-economic history needs to be done for ecclesiastical and diplomatic and several other genres of history—as Philip Hughes has so excellently done in his recently published study of the Reformation in England.<sup>2</sup> Church councils did not meet *in vacuo*, nor did diplomats play with pieces of territory simply as though they were chessmen—as church and diplomatic historians seem to assume.

An integrated view of the past demands more of the scholar than the highly trained specialist can bring to his study. Even Nef is certain to be censured for occasional little slips,<sup>3</sup> but such minor items in no way invalidate the conclusions reached. Whereas the specialists gets all data concerning one branch of one tree in the forest correct, a scholar of Nef's type might paint a broken twig inaccurately—but the picture of the forest is true.

### Final Part Least Sure

Only the last third of this work, it seems to us, will be modified by further study. Here the author could bolster up his general thesis with additional and, in our opinion, better-selected evidence. He touches on a number of

items that seem to have played a considerable role in breaking down restraints on war, but he does not develop the full implications of their destructive effect. These are such items as the effect of standardization on the human person, the effect of mass education under state control, the part played by such media as the popular press, the radio and the movies. Also needed is a fuller account of the role played by leading historians, philosophers and scientists in conditioning human beings to the acceptance of war. Positivism, for example, with its denial of the old traditional values, should be more thoroughly studied for its effects both on industrialization and on resistance to war. But the inclusion of such material would lead to a second volume.

Dr. Nef sees a movement toward peace in the first half of the nineteenth century—and a movement away from it in the latter half. Closer investigation of the early nineteenth century might reveal a romanticism that appeared pacific but was intrinsically incompatible with real peace. We need closer sociological and psychological study of the post-1815 period to establish whatever interconnections there are between social and international peace—and of both, perhaps, with peace of soul. Perhaps the distinction between war and peace, which has certainly been obliterated in our day, was not as clear in the nineteenth century as historians have assumed. Perhaps industrialization, combined with the concurrent spiritual and intellectual trends of the age, made war and peace melt into each other.

These are not criticisms of the author's thesis, which is essentially sound, but a suggestion that his treatment of the "intellectual road to war" since 1740 needs to be more carefully and fully developed in order to make the last third of *War and Human Progress* carry the same conviction as do the first two parts.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England: I, The King's Proceedings*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> The eighteenth-century specialist, for example, will object to the statement that "Voltaire, Rousseau, and other influential men of letters attributed special virtues to man in a state of nature." (p. 308) Voltaire and Rousseau differed bitterly about "natural man." Or again some specialists will complain that the author does not always use the best secondary sources. But such criticisms can be made against any general study—and they are carping rather than critical.



# TRENDS

## Japanese Peace Treaty

Signing of the Japanese Treaty by 49 nations, including Japan, on September 8, 1951, reduced that nation from an empire to a nation slightly larger than Montana, with a population of almost 84 million. All islands held at the end of World War II, except Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku and small adjacent islands (two of which the U.S.S.R. has seized) have been taken away. Japan has renounced all claims on the mainland of Asia.

Japanese property in the lost territories and in all other countries may be seized by the sovereign nation concerned. Reparations are undertaken to the Philippines and Indonesia (in the form of processing raw materials, salvaging and "other services"). All reparations claims must be lodged before June 8, 1952. A bill has been introduced to provide \$78 million to finance reparations operations; payment will be extended over three years.

Plans are under way to re-establish diplomatic relations with all signatory powers. Fifteen embassies will be established, seven of these with Asiatic nations: Burma, India, Indonesia, Korea, Pakistan, the Philippines and Viet Nam. Some of these will be delayed until separate treaties have been signed. Of the sixteen legations projected, three, in Australia, Iran and New Zealand, will be in the Eastern hemisphere.

## Race Relations Move Ahead

Individuals figured in interracial news recently, but it was action in wider fields that marked some progress in race relations.

A Negro was sworn in as collector of Internal Revenue for the third New York district, and a Negro woman executive of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was appointed to study trade union methods in Denmark and Sweden. The first Negro doctor ever appointed by the New York Department of Hospitals was named head of James Ewing Hospital, a 275-bed city-owned institution for cancer patients.

Of greater import was the order of the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, Hartford, directing the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, A.F.L., Local 35 to admit two Negroes into its membership list. "The history of the union," said the finding, "shows a pattern

of discrimination against Negroes. No Negroes have ever been admitted." The Commission charged the union with failure to act on the applications of the Negro workers, and with nepotistic preferential practices. The union was told by the order to "cease and desist from excluding" the two complainants from "full membership because of race."

At Grand Rapids, Michigan, the American Federation of Teachers, A.F.L., without a single dissenting vote from the 500 delegates, representing 80,000 American teachers, gave notice to 44 segregated locals that they must work to eliminate racial barriers. Their resolution read, "No discrimination shall be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith or political activities or belief, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control, such as Fascist, Nazi or Communist shall be admitted to membership." Then the Federation directed its executive council not to admit any new local founded on a racial basis.

The resolution embodies a clause in the constitution of the teachers' union. Opposition to the directive came mainly from 44 locals, most of them in the south. The adoption of the resolution marked an end to fierce debate and compromises in previous conventions.

Four young Negro priests were ordained last summer. Two of them are diocesan priests, Rev. Peter J. Carter, the second to be ordained for the Buffalo diocese, and Rev. Joseph Warren Anderson, a Boys' Town graduate who will work in the Omaha diocese. At Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, were ordained Fathers Leonard Olivier and John LaBauve, both members of the Society of the Divine Word, 25th and 26th Negro priest-graduates of St. Augustine's Seminary there.

Negro medical students have reached a new high, after an increase of 53 per cent in the last ten years. Six hundred and sixty-one were registered in 1950-1951 in the nation's medical schools. Four of the five Jesuit universities with medical schools have enrolled Negro medical students: Creighton, Loyola of Chicago, Marquette and St. Louis. At the University of Arkansas there are three Negro medical students, at the University of North Carolina one and the University of Texas two. Oklahoma University has about 150 Negro students on its rolls, while Oklahoma A. & M. has 200.

## Greater Concern for Aged

The Second International Gerontological Congress began its sessions at St. Louis September 9, with more than 700 scientists from the United States and 46 foreign countries in attendance. The delegates heard some 400 papers, and saw 29 scientific exhibits, six of then prepared by Washington University Medical School, host to the Congress.

The meetings marked progress in social planning for the aged, a great increase in interest and concern for older people, particularly since it was only in August, 1950, that the first National Conference on Aging was called by the Federal Security Agency.

Since life expectancy has been extended to 63, chiefly through advances in medicine, and since older people share all fundamental human needs, more and more attention is being given to such problems as economic security, health, rehabilitation, employment and recreation for older people.

## International Productivity Conference

Increased productivity will be the principal interest of those attending the First International Conference of Manufacturers, to be held in New York, December 3 to 5 of this year. Large numbers of industrialists from Western European countries will meet to discuss with Americans ways of increasing industrial productivity in their countries. (See "Trends," September, 1951, p. 324)

The Conference will be sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers in conjunction with the Economic Cooperation Administration and the National Management Council. In preparation for the sessions, the Council, working with E.C.A., will supervise tours of American industrial plants by the more than 200 European delegates.

## Teachers' Strike Supported

Despite the fact that the American Federation of Teachers, A.F.L., generally disapproves of strikes, 500 delegates to the union's thirty-fourth annual convention, held at Grand Rapids, Mich., August 20 to 24, voted commendation of a strike in Pawtucket, R. I. Local 930 there has been on strike throughout the summer, seeking to obtain increases in salaries.

Pay of the Pawtucket teachers has been frozen since 1946. When their request for an average \$450 annual cost-of-living increase was turned down, 485 of the city's

500 teachers walked out. The local superintendent of schools claims that any change from the frozen salary rates would be socialism.

The teachers' convention commended the strikers for their "determination to get relief from a bad salary situation," and for their "courage and achievement." The delegates also voted a resolution calling on all other units of the teachers' federation to lend financial support to the Pawtucket local.

## Co-ops Protest Tax Threat

Prompt protest was the response of the American Institute of Cooperation to Senate Finance Committee action in voting that certain revenues of cooperatives be taxed by the Federal government. Meeting in Logan, Utah, at the time of the Committee action, the Institute issued a statement which said in part:

"This policy, if enacted, would be far-reaching and would certainly do violence to the basic principles of cooperation. This proposal challenges the very existence of the family farm by limiting its efficiency in buying supplies and selling its products. Since the small farm is a bulwark of our free enterprise system, the proposal strikes at the very heart of this system by weighing the scales against the family farm in competition with larger units."

## Urban League Looks Ahead

Glimpses over the first forty years of service of the National Urban League and over the prospects for even greater future contributions are given in the *Fortieth Anniversary Yearbook* recently issued by the League.

The Urban League, since its founding in 1910 through the inspiration of Professor George E. Haynes of Fisk and the energy and drive of a wealthy widow, Mrs. William H. Baldwin, Jr., has grown from an unpromising, one-room organization with no affiliates to a nationwide chain with 58 affiliates and 395 employees. Its expansion has been greatest in the past five years.

Many research and survey projects undertaken by its workers accumulated much information on the social and economic condition of Negroes, for the use of students, writers and lecturers. More than a hundred such surveys have been made.

Various improvement programs sponsored by the Urban League proved to the larger social-work agencies that their own activities should comprehend the Negro programs. Thus came integration with the Boy Scouts, Big Brothers and Big Sisters, free employment service, the use

of visiting teachers in public schools, play grounds and camps, convalescent homes and public-school vocational guidance.

The League has maintained fellowships in schools of social work (118 at present), participated in many conferences on social work, persuaded the Red Cross to employ Negro workers, and for 26 years published *Opportunity*, with many pamphlets and tracts on social and economic life.

The extension of the local Leagues across the country has provided opportunity for many Negro and white persons to work together on improvement programs in over 58 cities. Cooperation between the races undoubtedly benefited enormously from such growth.

Southern cities, such as Atlanta, Winston-Salem, Richmond, Memphis, Louisville, Jacksonville, New Orleans, Miami, Tampa, Little Rock, Oklahoma City and Fort Worth, have recognized the need for programs of the type sponsored by the National Urban League. Several others (Houston, Tulsa and St. Petersburg) were the scenes of surveys in the Community Relations Project for Interracial Social Planning but have so far not established local Urban Leagues. Besides the twelve existing branches, observers believe that more than 30 southern cities now could be classed as having Negro population percentages large enough to demand their own new local Leagues. Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, with the largest Negro populations in the south, still have no Urban League offices.

The next anniversary yearbook of the League will contain the story of a great expansion in the south.

### Set-Back for Labor Unity

Establishment of a United Labor Policy Committee last December by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations looked like a big step toward ultimate labor unity. When the A.F.L. executive council at its recent meeting in Montreal announced that it would withdraw from the Committee, prospects of early merger dimmed.

The A.F.L. step, taken because the C.I.O. gained more from collaboration than did the older organization and because such "functional" unity was thought actually to impede progress toward "organic" unity, will not, however, mean a resumption of union feuding.

The most serious practical results of the split will be in future apportionment of government positions. As far as possible jobs have been equally divided between the two large groups. Since this was one of the A.F.L. objections to collaboration, dis-

agreements may rise over future appointments.

### Foreign-Study Scholarships for Negroes

At least two Negroes are among the 750 recipients of Fulbright scholarships for study abroad this year. George H. Hiram, who is on leave from the St. Louis public-school system, will spend a year at the University of Paris, studying French and education. He has received his master's degree in education from St. Louis University and is currently engaged in studies for the doctorate at the same institution. A graduate of Xavier University, Larry Williams, who received the master's degree in French at Fordham University last June, is the recipient of a Fulbright scholarship which will enable him to continue studies at the Sorbonne this year.

### Co-determination Move Continues

At an extraordinary congress of the German Trade Union Federation called to elect a president to fill the office made vacant by the death of the late President, Dr. Hans Boeckler, the 501 delegates voted favorably on measures to extend co-determination.

In April, 1951, legislation passed by the Federal parliament at Bonn had authorized establishment of labor participation in management of the coal and steel industries of Germany. At the DGB Congress, held at Essen in the Ruhr, June 22 and 23, the representatives of 16 trade union groups which constitute the DGB empowered the executive council of the federation to work for introduction of further legislation which will extend co-determination to the basic chemical and transportation industries, as well as more general legislation establishing the principle in all areas of employment.

Early in July, 1951, the Federal Parliament passed a law introducing partial co-determination in the railroad industries. This law is under consideration by the Upper House at the present time. Meantime DGB president, Mr. Christian Fette, has expressed a desire for joint discussion between his organization and representatives of management to secure the best possible solution to problems in all areas outside the basic industries. Dr. Walter Raymond, chairman of the Federal Association of Employers' Associations, has agreed to the discussions, provided that all legislation be postponed until the conversations have been concluded.

# BOOKS

**MAKING CAPITALISM WORK.**—By Dexter Merriam Kuzer and Associates, McGraw-Hill, Inc., New York, 1950, ix, 316 pp. \$3.00.

"Progressive" capitalism as represented say, by the committee on Economic Development has an unofficial spokesman, the publishing company of McGraw-Hill. The authors of this volume are, in turn, unofficial spokesmen for McGraw-Hill; they are all employees of its department of economics. Reading their book is a little like over-hearing an exhortation of the left wing of American capitalism to the rest of the body. It is written for people who are already friends of capitalism. Its value is that of a (proposed) party platform. One would want to read it less for technical analysis than for the information it conveys on the thinking of this segment of the business community.

The authors say (belatedly, on p. 100): "The central idea of this book is that Americans will live far better under a thriving capitalistic system than under any possible scheme of state socialism." This is an accurate statement of the point of view adopted throughout: the authors are concerned with making a choice between private capitalism and state capitalism. Other alternatives are not considered. There is no discussion of this limitation of choice, the reader's attention is not called to it, the clear statement quoted above occurs late in the book, and it is introduced incidentally. One wonders whether the limitation was a fully conscious one, or whether the authors subconsciously took for granted that there could be no other choice. But at any rate, the book must be read from that viewpoint if it is to make any sense.

No doubt it was that restricted conception of the available choices that determined the authors' narrow definition of "capitalism": "We mean that form of economic organization and operation where the tools and equipment are privately owned, and where operations are carried out through private initiative rather than by direction of the state."

The authors want to preserve this kind of economic life in America because it is "the most dynamically productive way of getting" and because it "accommodates and fortifies a degree of social and civic freedom as great as that accorded to any other people, and far greater than that given to most." (p.296)

Capitalism thus defined, and with those advantages, is in danger of death. The book is an exposition of what must be done (by everyone who prefers private capitalism to state capitalism—by labor and educators and clergymen as well as by business men) to avert that danger.

So many "interlocked and interacting" factors are treated that the exposition was bound to sprawl; and it does. The reviewer cannot hope to do what the authors failed to accomplish.

The full development is complex (and sprawling); but the following three steps are reasonably faithful summary of it.

First, capitalism must meet certain demands now being made on the economy, if it is to continue to exist. Second, capitalism cannot meet those demands unless it is allowed to work according to the laws of its own nature. Third, capitalism can meet those demands if it is allowed thus to work.

1. The authors want capitalism to meet the demands for greater equality (chiefly equality of economic opportunity); for less routinized, more interesting production jobs, and for recognition in other ways also of the worker's human personality; for more and for more liberal, social security programs (especially for the unemployed, the aged and the sick); for urban redevelopment (i.e. for slum clearance); for farm supports; for conservation of natural resources and the beauties of the landscape; for the development of "backward" areas abroad; and, most important of all, for stable employment and a rising per capita national income. The authors want capitalism itself to meet some of these demands and to cooperate vigorously with government in meeting the others.

2. The authors want capitalism to have working conditions that are favorable to it. The first of these is the rule of competition among firms and among workers. A tax rate which takes half of any additional income a man earns is bad because it destroys the incentive to compete. Piece-rates, profit-sharing plans and marked differentials in wages for different levels of skill are good for the opposite reason. Moreover, capitalism needs "general public understanding that it is compatible with the great values which shape the upper reaches of American civilization"—especially the value of freedom. "Not the least notable contribution of capitalism to human freedom

**SOCIAL ORDER**

is that it disperses the power to take freedom away." On the profit motive they quote a refugee from Communist-dominated Central Europe who exclaimed: "What delight to be where things are produced and sold with such a nice clean motive as making a profit."

3. The authors think that, given favorable working conditions, American capitalism can meet present demands for "social betterment"—if the demanders do not insist on the whole program at once. Typical of their positions: "We believe that capitalism can meet the challenge successfully. As has been indicated, capitalism can raise American living standards at least fifty per cent in the next generation. Thus, the United States can afford to take on some social welfare programs that now look impossibly expensive." (p.103) But it is a key proposition with them that such programs should not expand at a pace faster than the rise in national productivity.

In developing this triple argument the authors adopt a number of positions which are not clearly essential to it. It is important to distinguish the one from the other for that reason. Among the specific propositions which the authors advance, without proof, are the following: that the share of employe compensation cannot rise above 64 per cent of the national income without endangering the stability of the economy; that a governmental budget taking as much as one-third of the national income would necessarily "sink capitalism" (except in time of war); that "organized labor is the most potent single instrumentality in determining the degree of general economic stability today;" that all social security programs must be self-financing in the sense that no contribution to them be made by government from general funds. The general argument does not clearly stand and fall with these particular propositions.

In its way, this is an important book. Not for its technical analysis. But for its political implications. The general position of the social group to which the authors belong represents one of the three general positions open to Catholics in the United States today. It seems reasonable to exclude extreme *laissez faire* and extreme socialism or communism. The choices remaining are: 1. to move somewhat further in the direction of governmental ownership or control; 2. to retain the present degree and form of private ownership and control as long as it can deliver a bill of goods similar to the one enumerated by the authors; 3. developing an alternative system along the lines of the "Industry Councils" or more radically,

along the lines of Christian "Distributism" *a la* Chesterton or Peter Maurin.

Until the plan of the "Industry Councils" become clearer, and until the Christian virtues which alone can impel persons to prefer "Distributism" become stronger, it may be that the *immediate* choice open to Catholics in the United States is only between the first two positions. (In the realm of action, that is. In the realm of thinking, of planning there is obviously no such limitation.) Possibly it was this view of the matter that caused Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., in his *Catholic Social Principles* to adopt substantially the same definition of capitalism as the authors of *Making Capitalism Work*.

The readers of SOCIAL ORDER will recall the strictures which Father Thomas passed on Father Cronin's position, (February, 1951, pp. 80-84). Catholic thought in this area has still to clarify itself. Some of it may be only a difference of definition. Some of it may be more serious.

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THE NEW SOCIETY: The Anatomy of the Industrial Order.—By Peter Drucker. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950, 356 pp. \$5.00.

The most dynamically revolutionary principle of our times does not, in the opinion of Peter Drucker, come from Marx or Lenin, from Mussolini or Hitler. It comes f.o.b. Detroit from Henry Ford, and its name is mass production. Everywhere it has unsettled age-old patterns of living; and it has created problems which must be solved if a free society is to endure.

The author has a background that qualifies him to seek such a solution. Beginning his active career at the time of the great stock-market crash, he has been studying industrial society as teacher, writer and management consultant. His various books and articles during the past decade have won favorable notice. The present work is a critical synthesis of all his previous works.

Mass production is not principally a matter of technology but of organization. It is no longer the individual worker but only the organization that is productive. Cut off from the organization the worker is without function, without status. That is why unemployment, or even the threat of unemployment, is so different from what it ever was in the past. It is not now merely an economic misfortune but an



ostracism of the worker and a corrosion of his inner dignity and self-respect.

Mass production is not applicable to the shop alone but also to the office. It is not confined to the factory but extends to the farm. It is the characteristic method of production in today's society, and its effects infiltrate into every aspect of that society. Those effects on worker and family sometimes seem appalling, and one may wish to escape them by a flight to pre-industrial society. But such flight is no longer possible. The peoples of the earth have seen in mass production the promise of a plenty long denied them. Either mass production must be given them under the banner of freedom, or they will accept it from the hands of the tyrant.

Because the representative institution of this new industrial society is what Mr. Drucker calls the enterprise, he strives with great skill to reveal the inner laws that govern it, the problems that arise from it and the lines along which solutions must be sought. The enterprise necessarily has certain political and social roles, but its primary function is economic. Avoidance of loss, increased output of goods and services and lowered costs are its obligation to society. And the measure of its performance is profitability. Not profits, which are only bookkeeping entries and are apt to be misleading, but profitability—the avoidance of loss, the ability to cover all costs, which in addition to current expenditures include the cost of staying in business, reserves against the risks of the future and reserves against unsuccessful enterprise. Every other consideration must be subordinated to this yardstick—and right here is the problem.

For management can never be legitimate. It cannot govern the enterprise *for* its members, whether workers or owners. It must put the survival and the success of the enterprise first, and this is equally true whether the enterprise exists in capitalist America, socialist Britain or communist Russia. The workers may think that they are being exploited in the interests of the stockholders; actually the latter are owners only in name and by a legal fiction, since they have no practical control of the enterprise but only a title to its profits.

Management can, it is true, do much to reconcile the workers to their subordination to profitability, which they hate as an affront to their dignity. It can adopt measures looking to a predictable income, to steadiness of employment—but always with an eye to profitability. It can tolerate and even encourage the organization of a plant community, in which the workers may find the social status they

crave—but only because and to the extent that it furthers profitability.

Thus it is because of the nature of the enterprise and not because of any malpractice of management that the union arises. As a worker organization it is necessarily an anti-body. Its primary function seems to be economic, the protection of the economic interests of the workers. But it has also a social role. And it is likewise political, for it must demand the loyalty and allegiance of the members. It is inevitably management's rival, a rival which may be placated, disarmed, but never completely absorbed. Management and union must forever go on as Hegelian thesis and antithesis, without hope of redemption in a higher synthesis.

In the development of his main theme and in the many related topics which he introduces, Mr. Drucker is informative and interesting. His detailed explanation of the function of management is enlightening. His exposition of the means available to management in the promotion of greater economic stability summarizes the best that has been said on this subject. His realistic analysis of the political pressure of the members, which so largely determines the attitude of the union leader, will not easily be rebutted.

On the other hand, the professional economist will be surprised to read that Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill thought productive capacity was God-given and unchangeable. He will be startled at the assertion that only on this assumption can the classical doctrines of free trade and the automatic gold standard be understood. He will wonder whether profitability, as here understood, is as novel and modern as the author thinks. And, along with the moralist, he will be baffled by the notion that before Henry Ford, profit was merely a moral question, whereas now it is an economic one.

The principal weakness of this valuable book, however, is a strand of thought which runs all through it. In his idolization of the enterprise Mr. Drucker has lifted it out of this world into a land of romantic abstraction. He, who a dozen years ago prophesied the end of economic man, has made the enterprise a being of pure economic rationalism, a collective economic man. He has failed to see the relation between private and common good. He has failed to distinguish between demands and genuine interests.

It is true that the enterprise must be managed with an eye to its survival; no good will come from destroying it. (Was not this true even in pre-industrial days



of the shop, the farm, the ranch or any other business unit?) But this is not a peculiarity of the enterprise; it holds good for any society. Even the most democratic state must make survival a guiding principle. But this does not set it at odds with the interests of its members; its survival is one and not the least of their interests. The resentment of the citizen in regard to demands whose necessity he does not understand is not proof of tyranny, nor is the resentment of the workers, after decades of demagogic agitation, proof of a real conflict of interests. Difference of opinion may indeed exist in the interpretation of these interests, and conflict may be engendered by an unsound managerial policy. This suggests that more attention should be given to the legitimacy of management in the traditional sense—whence it derives its powers and to whom it is responsible. But to portray the relationship between management and the workers or their union as one of necessary conflict and therefore of endless tension and cold war is to becloud a situation that badly needs clarification.

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**PATTERN FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.**—By William F. Whyte. Harper & Bros., New York, 1951, ix, 245 pp. \$3.50.

This is a study of the transition from industrial conflict to great cooperation and teamwork between union and management at the Chicago plant of the Inland Steel Container Company. It offers first a detailed report of the labor-management relations from 1937 when the union began until 1950. This is followed by a sociological analysis of the dynamic change that occurred in human relationships. This seeks to identify the factors responsible for the change.

The first section, based on interviews and investigation of recorded proceedings, is an excellent case study of the many sided problems of industrial relations, with detailed examples providing insight into slowdowns, grievances, factors in poor morale, constructive collective bargaining.

In the second section Whyte uses his own conceptual scheme to analyze the transition from conflict to cooperation. Applying concepts of interaction, symbol, activities and sentiments, he aims to abstract certain constants in human behavior, seek their significant relationships and thus construct a generalized knowledge that will be scientific and enable the pre-

diction of human behavior.

The analysis highlights what most scholars would emphasize: the slow process by which men, through discussion, come to understand each other, learn to respect and trust each other and the cooperation which results. This is valuable and profitable material for anyone to read who is interested in the field.

Just what further contribution is added by Whyte's conceptual scheme is not clear. He thinks it offers "... a framework within which we can think more effectively about those problems." (p.226) He admits that "The field of human relations is ... in such a primitive state that much more study is needed before we can draw conclusions;" he emphasizes that time is necessary to build and maintain good relations, that discussion changes relationships of people and change in sentiments follows; he contends wisely that not only is good will needed but the social skill and techniques to make that good will effective.

The study as a whole leaves Whyte's conceptual scheme a point of questionable value; but the recorded story of this labor-management situation will be a valuable help to anyone wishing to study industrial relations or to practice them successfully.

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**THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS.**—By Jerry Voorhis. Association Press, New York, 1951, 136 pp. \$1.75.

*The Christian in Politics* is a challenge to Christians to enter into politics aggressively and wholeheartedly. It is also an indictment of the political smugness and complacency of the people who take for granted that America is a Christian nation and that it will always continue to be such.

The book is a particular call to young Christians to enter politics. The author, an experienced and seasoned politician, gives a practical study on how to enter politics and how to win an election. After reading the book one can use "politician" as a name of honor and not in its usual depreciatory sense. The author points out that the first essential for one who has political ambitions is "to like people and know how to get along with them." While liking and getting along with people might sound like a pleasant vocation, nevertheless this path in politics is not strewn with roses. Mr. Voorhis speaks from the heart and from experience when he warns of the abuse and malignment inevitably cast at the holder of public

office who must live in the veritable gold-fish bowl.

The author is not satisfied that the Christian voter merely goes to the polls. He insists that it is a duty for Christians to make their influence felt in the political life of America. If one is not actively engaged in politics nor sufficiently interested to seek public office, the author points out how effective one can be politically by taking part in his labor union, farm organization or any other civic enterprise. While the author urges all Christians to participate actively in politics, nevertheless his wrath is directed at those pseudo-Christian politicians who politicalize their religion or assume that their position on each issue is correct merely because they are Christians, though perhaps merely ostensibly Christians.

The book places politics on a high level; in fact, almost on an idealistic level. "Serving the cause of democracy is serving the cause of Christ."

One might question the extent to which the writer would have the churches take positive stands on political issues. The author correctly contends that the churches take a positive stand on political issues in fulfillment of their responsibility to the welfare of human beings. This is undoubtedly academically true, but as a practical matter the question will always arise as to what issues summon the responsibility of the churches and particularly how far they should go. The author properly points out that unemployment, soil conservation, housing and old age pensions are Christian political issues in which the churches should concern themselves. Is he willing to go further and include Federal aid to education, medicine and the other basic needs of the individual? It appears that the churches themselves are divided on these issues, and there is considerable dissension within the hierarchy and the laity on many of these issues. In the opinion of many, the churches are treading on dangerous ground by espousing too many of the so-called Christian political issues. The author of the book, however, doesn't seem to think that the churches have gone far enough in speaking out on political issues. He wants more political activity from within the churches.

On specific issues the author deprecates extremes and states that the perfect Christian order would be much different from either capitalism or communism.

In conclusion, the book is a wholesome and practical education in politics. It is a clarion call from the political parties for

Christians, particularly young Christians, to participate actively in politics. It stresses the need for good, honest, Christian candidates for public office and properly places the blame for the mediocrity of candidates where it belongs—on an indifferent electorate.

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MAN AND THE STATE.—By Jacques Maritain. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1951, 216 pp. \$3.50.

One can always rely on Maritain to sparkle with originality and provoke controversy. *Man and the State* does both. Based on the 1949 Walgreen lectures at Chicago University, the seven essays of the book have a depth of penetration that instill confidence and a breadth of vision that seems to go beyond the capacities of language. As a result one never knows for certain whether the author is to be taken literally or merely symbolically.

A book that purports to clarify the concept of the State ought to be clear and consistent on at least that topic; yet I must confess that I am somewhat bewildered by the concept presented. Maritain certainly cannot consider the State really distinct from the *political society*; yet he describes it as "a part—the top-most part—of this whole." If that were true, would it not be necessary to conclude that the lower parts of this whole, taken individually, are also "political?" But they are not political except in virtue of the fact that they are placed in a *state* of order ordained to the achievement of the temporal common good.

Again, Maritain certainly does not mean to identify the State with what we call 'the government'; yet he insists that the State is "an instrumental agency," "an agency entitled to use power and coercion and made up of experts and specialists in public order," "a concretely and wholly human reality," "a set of institutions combined into a topmost machine." In his final essay on "The Problem of World Government" he shows very well the distinction to be made between a world government and a world body politic or world state. There he is inclined to identify the body politic with the State—at least, in so far as their material objects are concerned. In the chapters on "The Concept of Sovereignty" and "Church and State," however, it appears that the only difference between Maritain's State and that of Rousseau is that the one puts it *in* the body politic, the other outside. In either case it is *apart* from the body pol-

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itic, a unit in itself, a competitor with other units and with the body politic as a whole. If this is his concept, it is not surprising that Maritain frankly dislikes the State.

In spite of these ambiguities, the book is a mine of ideas and a must not only for political scientists but for everyone interested in the reconstruction of social order. The chapters on "The Problem of Means" and "The Democratic Charter" should help much towards a better orientation and coordination of efforts.

PAUL A. WOELFL, S.J.  
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Chicago, Illinois

**THE TRANSPORTATION INDUSTRIES FROM 1889-1946: A study of Output, Employment and Productivity.**—By Harold Barger. National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, N. Y., 1951, 288 pp. \$4.00.

The study of the transportation industries by Mr. Barger brings together a great deal of data over a 57 year period from 1889 to 1946. He treats of output, employment and productivity, the last of these being a relationship between the first two. It is expressed in terms of output per worker.

The industries under consideration include steam railroads, electric railways, i.e., subways, street cars and interurban systems, petroleum pipe lines, waterways (both coastal and inland), air lines and in an appendix, the motor trucking industry.

Equal space is not given to each industry in the treatment, for the availability of data governs the amount of analysis of each industry. Because of the abundance of material available on steam railroads this phase of transportation is treated thoroughly. This is justified since more than half the employment in all the transportation industries is concentrated in the steam railroads. Electric railways are considered briefly and afford an example of an industry that not only grew to maturity, but also began to decline during the period under consideration. Petroleum pipe lines and air lines receive brief treatment due to the lack of data and the small number of people employed by them.

The standard for measuring output is ton miles of freight carried, and in the study on railroads, passenger miles are also considered as well as weighted combination of both.

In this treatment of the railroads, Mr. Barger has taken great pains to qualify his statements and point out the limitations of the data developed. He supplements

his measurements by an analysis of the causes for the increased output per man. The analysis indicates the importance of technological advances in the industry, including larger and more powerful locomotives, larger freight cars, better signaling systems and improved track materials which have reduced the amount of maintenance labor.

The output per man in all transportation industries, according to Mr. Barger, increased some 300 per cent during the period studied.

The study is a capable analysis of available data, and as such is a decided contribution to the works on productivity which have become so important in the last few years.

JAMES J. MCGINLEY, S.J.  
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New York

**THE WELFARE STATE.**—By Jules Abel. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1951, xii, 214 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Abel has written a devastating criticism of the economics underlying the welfare state idea. He marks out clearly what he means by the welfare state, then proceeds to demonstrate some of its costs and consequences.

The two arguments stressed are the inevitability of inflation and the drying up of the sources of risk capital. Mr. Abel takes cognizance of the circumstances in which contemporary welfare state experiments have taken place, the circumstances consequent upon a period of reconstruction following a prolonged and costly war. Yet he argues that from the very principles of welfare state planners, inflation and restricted capital expansion—as opposed to mere capital expenditure—would have followed regardless of the circumstances.

Throughout the book, Mr. Abel makes no distinction in his opposition to current practices and theory of organized labor. He presents a negative argument in the strongest possible terms. Necessarily this approach calls for the assumption of some disputed premises. Perhaps also due to the limited scope of the book, there is no statement of an alternative positive program. Mr. Abel rejects the norm of the greatest good for the greatest number, but leaves the reader wondering what he would suggest in its place.

The book is easy and interesting reading recommended for both friends and foes of the welfare state.

GEORGE A. CURRAN, S.J.  
West Baden College

**THE VITAL CHRISTIAN.**—By F. Cayre, A.A. Translated by Robert C. Healey. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1951, xiv, 137 pp. \$2.00.

This small volume contains great thoughts. It has a vision that embraces the total activity of the Christian. Cayre has succeeded well in proposing a spirituality for the layman which is specifically "lay," not monastic, as so often happens.

The division is simple and clear. Part I explains the principles of Christian spirituality briefly but with depth and beauty. Chapter Three is magnificent with its portrayal of Christ as "the living center of humanity." It shifts the focus to Him as Head of His Kingdom instead of just a means.

The second half describes the Christian's field of action as an individual and a social being tending to perfection in marriage and the family, the professions and politics. The author is emphatic in showing the importance of a vital faith which joins the Christian's eternal goal with the temporal instruments he necessarily uses to attain it.

This book is recommended to all SOCIAL ORDER readers and should be read by college students. It will stimulate ideas and cause serious reflection, appealing as it does so to the need for a deeper spiritual life attainable within the pattern of the layman's concrete life. The translation reads easily but the book is obviously not light reading.

WALTER M. JANER, S.J.  
Weston College.

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**ROADS TO AGREEMENT.**—By Stuart Chase. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951, xiii, 250 pp. \$3.50.

The imminent threat of an atomic cloud-burst on human civilization makes most welcome another attempt to find agreement among mankind at all levels.

The author has here collected many instances of conflict solved and suggests several methods for promoting understanding.

The areas of conflict, from the personal quarrel to the international cold war, are enumerated in chapter 2. The roots of conflict are discussed in chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 5 lists the offsets to conflict.

Three main methods are then offered: 1. Group Dynamics, including the Quaker meeting, the work of Lewin; Bethel, Maine; several universities, the Lilienthal-Acheson plan for atomic control, and TVA; progress in labor-management relations account for four chapters; 2. Semantics, from which the author seems to ex-

pect much, has a chapter; 3. the culture concept of anthropology weaves through the book and closes it in the last three chapters. A selected bibliography and index of authors complete the work.

Where other books deal with human relations on the person-to-person basis this one makes a definite contribution in offering techniques for dealing with groups.

One may question whether 1. the Quaker meeting method would work for others not having the same bonds and 2. if wars do not originate in the minds of men, whence come they? While semantics can doubtless help promote understanding, ultimately only Christian charity can make men submerge their cultural and other differences, recognize their mutual interdependence and cooperate in establishing a true social order of justice and peace and security.

Yet the practical methods presented together with leads to books, persons and institutes of social research make this a practical handbook for all who must guide group energies to mutual goals of understanding.

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**UNDERMINING THE CONSTITUTION.**—By Thomas J. Norton. The Devin-Adair Company, New York, 1951, xiv, 351 pp. \$3.00.

This is another in the series of Devin-Adair publications following the familiar Flynn-Taft-Hearst line that all that has been done in this country since 1932 is unconstitutional and un-American, if not outrightly communistic. The author, a constitutional lawyer of no small reputation, would reduce the significant functions of the federal government to the regulation of currency and the maintenance of national defense.

Displaying a strong distrust for the direct popular vote, characteristic of a democracy, as being subject to "cabal, intrigue, and corruption," Mr. Norton maintains that according to the Constitution unpledged presidential electors should be chosen by the various state legislatures, for then, "How many presidents of this century would have been kept out of the White House . . . how much of the disaster to constitutional government would have been prevented!"

There are some rather remarkable statements in this book. For example, the sponsor of the National Labor Relations Act is called "a man of alien birth," and that legislation is later prefixed by the adjective, "alien." Whatever might have been

the defects of the late Senator Wagner, the fact that he was born in Germany is certainly not one of them. Again, "Most of the strikes of World War II were prima facie conspiracies against owners of property . . ." "In short, the graduated (income) tax is Communistic." "The idea (of the TVA) originated in the minds of Socialists, Fascists and political adventurers far away." "The conservation of soil is none of the business of the United States. It is the obligation of the landowner to take care of his land."

Mr. Norton is entitled to his opinion. His interpretation of the Constitution has been agreed to by Justices Van Devanter, McReynolds, Sutherland and Butler, praised by the author as a "quartet of great justices." But that this is the only possible interpretation is another matter.

Those who don't like Truman, never liked Roosevelt and long for the "good old days" when business was untrammelled by the interference of big government will find this book confirmatory of their views.

WILLIAM W. FLANAGAN, S.J.  
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**THE SOVIET STATE AND ITS INCEPTION.**—By Harry Best. Philosophical Library, New York, 1950, 437 pp. \$6.00.

In the appendix of this volume there is a year-by-year bibliography on Russia since 1917. Best's book is a dullish rewrite of facts gathered from many of these sources. The author's expressed intention is not to present new material but to give a "general sociological appraisal of what has taken place" in Russia during the Twentieth century.

About one-third of the volume records conditions before the 1917 Revolution, but the canvass is so broad that little new knowledge can be gained about any topic. Eight pages, for example, are allotted to the history of the Church in Russia. The rest of the book chronicles the attempts of the USSR to industrialize the country and to bring security to the people. Not a few conclusions concerning past and present conditions in Russia are naive and unreal in view of the ever-increasing evidence supplied us by the growing army of the disillusioned.

Best's most complete and praiseworthy chapter is on the foreign policy of the USSR. In this area the author has no illusions, offers no easy solutions and admits that aggressive, imperialistic communism is here to stay. Best seems to feel that Russia's domestic policies will become

more democratic, but he makes no predictions that the Soviets will patch up the East-West breach.

Best's attempts to be completely objective regarding Russia lead him to some curious undocumented statements. On the varying attitudes to religion which the Soviets adopted at different times Best has four pages (377-81) of confused and unannotated comments. No dates are given for the supposed changes of attitudes, nor is there any attempt to give an over-all picture of the Kremlin's view on religion in 1950. The same could be said for many of the other issues which Best handles; he leaves the reader actually uninformed about the matter at hand.

Best has proved his competence in his three prior books as an encyclopedist of facts and statistics on the blind, the deaf and the criminals of America. Whenever he restricts himself to this fact-gathering technique his conclusions are worthwhile; but when he takes sides on the controversial questions of Russia's domestic and foreign policies one can seriously question the value of his judgments.

Best's readability is diminished by an annoying rhetoric and a monotonous style. *The Soviet State* may be a handy manual for the amateur in the study of Russia, but for anyone who has read even a little in this field it will not be too eminently worthwhile.

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**THE NEW SOVIET EMPIRE.**—By David J. Dallin. Yale, New Haven, 1951, viii, 216 pp. \$3.75.

**THE SOVIET UNION: The Land and Its People.**—By George Jorjé. Longmans, London, 1950, xviii, 353 pp. \$4.25.

In addition to dealing with the current foreign policies of Stalin's far-flung empire, this book takes up a variety of interesting topics about the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union.

For example, Dallin here brings up to date his classic description of the social classes in the USSR. (Cf. Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia*, 1944.) Chapter nine vividly portrays the "hardships" of life on the extensive country estates of the men who rule Russia. The "inconveniences" which they encounter while travelling down to Georgia and the Crimea on the fabulous Lux Blue Express are also given eloquent expression. In the words of the late George Orwell, "all comrades are equal, but some comrades are more equal than others." Or, as Stalin put it last Red



October Day, "Today we have socialism, and tomorrow we shall have communism."

Dallin gives much attention to the rank-and-file composition of the Russian Communist party, which now comprises 7,000,000 members. Chapter eleven deals with "his majesty *blat*"—that is, the illegal black market which the Soviet Government cannot afford to extinguish.

E. D. Laborde's translation of Jorré's geography of the Soviet Union reveals a picture far different from that drawn of the country houses and the luxury train reserved for the rulers of many millions of slaves, both Russian and foreign. Jorré has vividly delineated the ruggedness of the Russian climate and the poverty of much of its soil. He is also interested in the types of people who strive through intense heat and cold to conquer nature.

If the soil of the USSR is not everywhere fruitful, at least the landscape is not wanting in mineral resources and water power. So far as these essentials of industry are concerned, the USSR today is surpassed only by the United States, a position which may well be reversed.

Jorré's book will prove helpful to those who wish to understand better the strength of the Russian bear which is successfully striving to conquer an often hostile climate and a generally infertile soil.

WILLIAM A. NOLAN,  
St. Louis University

**SUCCESSFUL PART-TIME FARMING.**—By Haydn S. Pearson. Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, N. Y., 1950. 322 pp. \$1.49.

Depression days of the '30's saw a rash of books, pamphlets and articles on part-time farming, most of them based on climatic, soil and marketing conditions bordering the east coast. *Successful Part-Time Farming* by H. S. Pearson retains this similarity to previous books on the subject.

Since the '30's, however, agriculture in all phases has undergone revolutionary changes which tend toward the advantage of the part-time farmer. Pearson has taken this into consideration; and that is one reason why the book is timely.

*Successful Part-Time Farming* covers a wide area of possibilities in augmenting the family income of a city worker. A practical book, it treats of the importance of location, electricity, water and soil; the remodeling and repairing of older houses and suggests important points for beginners.

Facts on crops of various kinds, and the question of poultry and livestock rightly fills the major part of the book which also

includes a chapter on recipes based on farm-raised foods. There is also a chapter on home crafts as a profitable side line.

Last in the book, but certainly not the least in point of value, are two appendices, one listing pertinent agricultural bulletins; the other giving addresses of Agricultural Experiment Stations.

The book is well worth the price to anyone interested in part-time farming.

ANTHONY J. ADAMS, S.J.  
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**A CITIZEN THINKS OF HIS GOVERNMENT.**—By Charles G. Morris. Dorrance and Co., Philadelphia, 1950. viii, 220 pp. \$2.50.

This group of essays by a man who has been widely active in the fields of law, politics, labor and business management, considers some of the virtues and defeats of American democracy. Mr. Morris is an admirer—but a judicious admirer—of the American system. His experience and judgment make the essays useful not only for Americans who can sharpen their own opinions upon his, but for the citizen-to-be who would like to know what Americans think of their government.

Mr. Morris stresses the importance of intelligent participation in those phases of government open to all citizens, notably the ballot: "The greatest political weapon known to the world is the secret ballot." He seems to subscribe to the Anglo-American myth which places Franco on a par with the slave states of Hitler and Stalin. "Russia," he says, "... can find a comparison only with ... the lesser tyrants, Hitler and Franco. ... All of these slave states. ..."

Much enjoyment can be gained from this light, but thoughtful discussion of American government.

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**DREAM AND REALITY: An Essay in Autobiography.**—By Nicolas Berdyaev, (Kathryn Lampert, tr.). Macmillan, New York, 1951, xv, 332 pp. \$4.50.

This unconventional work is the autobiography of a genius. In it there is comparatively little account of the stirring events that made their external impact upon the career of Berdyaev. It is, almost wholly, the biography of a mind, a personality, recounted with engaging objectivity.

The major interest of Berdyaev's career was an understanding of life. He searched



in every available intellectual quarter for new enlightenment. The breadth of his investigations is astonishing: the German philosophers, socialists, Russian idealists, religious philosophers, the intellectuals of the early Communist regime, and, in his later years, every conceivable variant of philosophical activity in West European thought. But in the midst of such diversity Berdyaev clung to his integrating ideals: man, personality, freedom.

Many associates of his later years accused Berdyaev of anarchism. He was, perhaps—in the Proudhonian sense—but he was singularly uninterested in political realities and was saved from the almost inevitable chaos of anarchism by a Proudhonian emphasis on justice and personal integrity.

Berdyaev insists that he is a philosopher. He is, inasmuch, as that term suggests a quest for and love of truth. But he is the most unsystematic of philosophers, whose greatest virtue is a preoccupation with a few profoundly right ideas that are indispensable for a solution to the social problems into which the rebellions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have got the world. His own assertion: "I am not concerned to deny any reality to universals or to restrict philosophy to the particular: rather, I am concerned to find a universal in the particular, to understand the abstract concretely, instead of understanding the concrete abstractly," (p. 289) suggests that Berdyaev is less a philosopher (in the traditional meaning) than a human engineer, a moralist.

Whatever he be, he was a genius whose narrow, limited message is of radical importance to a world obsessed with the material, the practical, the expedient. It is unfortunate that the closing chapters of his essay, written in the midst of the spiritual and material distresses of France's defeat, reflect a pessimism uncharacteristic of this magnificent spirit.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

#### TELEVISION AND OUR CHILDREN.

—By Robert Lewis Shayon. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1951, 94 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Shayon, winner of radio's Peabody Award for writing and co-editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature's* section on radio and television, first wrote this material as a series of articles for *The Christian Science Monitor* for which he is radio and television critic. This little book provides few new insights regarding children and television to those familiar with the industry and its commercial opera-

tions, but it aims to communicate more widely old but sound concepts regarding the obligations incumbent on those who control this mass medium of communication.

Here is a simple but revealing explanation of how the television industry works, how commercial television lives by revenue and why it aims to entertain and excite rather than educate and enlighten children. The author believes that organized group activity and an aroused public can do more to bring about a "television awakening" than carping criticism and personal invective. In outlining a practical plan for such an awakening, the author has provided a short work which should be of great value to parents, teachers, educators and the public at large. The Pied Piper—television—is luring children through the "wondrous portal opened wide," but whither are our children being led? This is a problem for adults to answer—not children.

JOHN H. WILLIAMS, S.J.  
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West Baden, Ind.

**HUMANISM VERSUS THEISM.**—By J. A. C. F. Auer and Julian Hartt. Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1951, 153 pp. \$2.50.

**NATURE AND HUMAN NATURE.**—By Lawrence K. Frank. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1951, ix, 175 pp. \$3.00.

To foster "freedom of inquiry" in religion Antioch College sponsors, among other things, recurrent debates on religion vs. humanism. Professor Auer, of Harvard Divinity School, and Professor Robert L. Calhoun, of Yale Divinity School, were protagonists in one such discussion. In the printed version Professor Hartt replaces the theist speaker.

Auer's case is a suave restatement of the points made by naturalistic humanism against revealed religion: indeed, against any theist position. In addition to traditional attacks upon the proofs for the existence of God (e. g., the cosmological and theological proofs, "... which since the days of Kant have been liabilities rather than assets even to theistic theology.") he undertakes to find implicit contradictions in Christian—largely Calvinist—doctrine (e. g., if God is "Wholly Other," God and man can have nothing in common).

Professor Hartt's reply is an attempt to give meaning to the idea of God, to represent the proofs for God's existence, to

relate theism to Christianity and virtue. In a final chapter he speaks of humanism as a ghost of religion—which it veritably is—partly because of its preoccupation with attacks upon religion, partly because it dehumanizes man. Père Lubac has said this more cogently: "Exclusive humanism is inhuman humanism."

Mr. Frank restates in the language of Ethical Culture, Comte's positive religion without its antecedent evolutionism. The universe is a "dynamic, ever-changing, but self-regulating totality," of which man is an integral part. It is no longer a question of matter "ruining along the illimitable inane;" the processes, in Mr. Frank's system, are all teleological. Purpose is evident in external nature, in man's organism, in the progressive sophistication of his culture, social patterns and personality. At the same time man is not controlled by any external laws—even the laws of nature—he is free to direct his destiny and fashion himself and his social order according to his will.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

THE COMMUNIST TRAIL IN AMERICA.—By Jacob Spolansky. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951, vii, 227 pp. \$3.50.

This book is aimed at the man-in-the-street to convey to him "facts which show the criminal and conspiratorial nature of Communists. . . ." (p.12) This objective is accomplished. The author's evidence speaks volumes—a complete indictment of Communism and the so-called "American" Communist party.

Mr. Spolansky, a Ukrainian émigré, served with Army Intelligence in 1918-19, and from 1919-24 with the early F. B. I. He participated personally in the various government actions against Anarchists, Communists and other subversives. Since those early days, his interest has not lagged, as this book testifies.

The author traces the history of the C.P. in America from its founding in 1919, through the early struggle for power and the subjugation of "heresy" (Lovestonism) and its subsequent activities since it first went underground in 1920. Concentrating mainly on individuals (as a detective would) Spolansky outlines the activities of some greater and lesser lights in the Commie firmament: Browder, Foster, Minor-Gebert, Tallentiere, Kowalski. In tracing their twisting and devious paths, a clear picture of the viciousness, immorality and un-Americanism of the C. P. is revealed.

The book is excellently written throughout. I recommend especially Chapter 8

where the author demonstrates the utter dependence of American Communists in the Cominform and Chapter 14, a precise breakdown of the ways Commies trick Americans into footing the bills of the various Fronts. SOCIAL ORDER readers will find in this book a comprehensive but clear study of Communist history and techniques in America. It is well worth their time.

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Weston College  
Weston, Mass.

#### THE MAKING OF PUBLIC OPINION.

—By Emory S. Bogardus. Association Press, New York, 1951, x, 265, pp. \$4.00.

Dr. Bogardus is this year rounding out four decades of teaching at the University of Southern California. The veteran social psychologist here produces a simple little manual, apparently intended for non-professional readers and in non-technical style.

There are four major sections: the nature and functions of public opinion, what makes it, its limitations and its measurement. A concluding section is a series of propositions presented as tentative laws of opinion-making. There are two appendices. One gives a series of questions, from ten to nineteen in number, for each of the chapters, and called "problems for discussion." The second appendix constitutes a useful fifteen-page bibliography.

The development is largely an analytic outline, with brief definitions of each of the elements and sub-elements in the opinion-making process. There is nothing profound or recondite or new. Rather the body of the book makes a good check-list for discussion or conference leaders. From the exhortatory pages in the early sections on the value of democracy, which sound opinion-formation through discussion groups holds forth, it would seem that the author contemplated this book as a kind of manual for discussion groups.

For all its simplicity of design and presentation, the book reveals the wide and deep scholarship of the author in the frequent documentations from related sources, classic and current.

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#### Acknowledgments

P. 346: Dr. Brewton Berry, *Race Relations*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass., 1951, p. 443.

P. 352: Jean Daniélou, *Advent*, Sheed and Ward, New York, 1951, p. 131.  
Quoted with permission.

# Worth Reading

"Modern Environment and Religion,"  
*Lumen Vitae*, January-June, 1951.

The entire issue of this international review of religious education is devoted to a series of articles on religion and life. In all there are 33 articles, some of which were papers read at the Third International Religious Conference. Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara and Rev. Joseph B. Collins, S.S., discuss "The Parish Fraternity of Christian Doctrine." There is an excellent summary of the whole issue by Rev. Georges Delcuve, S.J., the editor.

Joseph Stocker, "Dr. Holmes of Arizona," *Survey*, 87 (September, 1951) 386-88.

A successful physician of Phoenix, Ariz., Dr. Fred G. Holmes, a Presbyterian, has brought about a profound change in the racial relations of his city and state since his retirement. Several hundred men and women throughout the state have joined their forces and funds under his leadership.

Daniel Bell, "The Language of Labor," *Fortune*, 44 (September, 1951) 86-88 ff.

An acute businessman's explanation of labor's truculence, penetrating, as far as it goes, but incomplete. Written by *Fortune's* Labor Editor.

Ernest Schoenmaeckers, "Work and Life," *Irish Monthly*, 79 (August, 1951) 337-43.

Summary of a book, *Werk en Leven*, published in the Netherlands by Aloysius M. Kuylaars, S.J., which examines the human elements of work itself. Management has sought to improve relations with other persons involved in work activities, but it has neglected work itself. Work should enrich the agent himself, as well as the material acted upon. So long as

human enrichment is neglected, discontent will continue.

John L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (August, 1951) 487-91.

On the basis of wide studies of Catholic families and parishes the author concludes that the present mixed-marriage rate is higher than is generally thought and that it will probably increase.

Elizabeth Ogg, "Scott of South Africa," *Survey*, 87 (August, 1951) 352-355.

Tall, sick, soft-spoken Anglican clergyman Michael Scott fights with intelligence and logic the cause of oppressed natives around Johannesburg and Durban, and of all South Africa. Once by joining some Indians in non-resistance he incurred a three-months jail term. Threatened with lynching, abused and denounced especially by officials, Scott labored so persistently for the natives that he spoke for them before the UN and had their case brought to the World Court.

William Gremley, "The Scandal of Cicero," *America*, 85 (August 25, 1951) 495-497.

Eye-witness of the shameful display of race hate at Cicero, Illinois, in early July, Mr. Gremley reports that the heavily Catholic participation in the mob attacks of vandalism was shocking and overwhelming. Many youngsters wore sweaters with names of Catholic schools blazoned on them. Denunciations after violence are not enough; a tragic, shameful failure has been laid at the doors of local Catholic churches and schools. Adult education in the techniques of community living and community organization would prevent such outbreaks, instead of encouraging them as does a hush-hush attitude in pulpit and classroom.

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